The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai

From 1736 to 1761.

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VOLUME X

JAN. 1756 – JUNE 1757

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CORRIGENDA.

For "Desvoeux" *passim*, *read* "Desvaux"

For "December" in line 2, page 274, *read* "December 1"

340—23-12-1925

THE DIARY

OF

ANANDA RANGA PILLAI

TRANSLATED FROM THE TAMIL BY ORDER OF THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

EDITED BY

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INTRODUCTION.

I

The following pages contain Ânanda Ranga Pillai's Diary from January 1756 to June 1757. These 18 months did not witness any renewal of Anglo-French hostilities in South India; but they did bring news of the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in Europe and of Clive's capture of Chandernagore in Bengal; so that they include events which directly led up to the tragic epilogue of Lally's and Leyrit's conflict amid the closing scenes of that tragedy of ill-founded ambitions which Dupleix had inaugurated. On the causes of this ultimate downfall, the present instalment of the Diary throws much new light. Leyrit has always remained an obscurely sinister figure; but the present volume continues that enlightenment which the last one began. There we saw the new Governor, silent, undemonstrative, almost morose; eager for aid of the Chief Dubâsh's knowledge and experience, but decently reluctant to pursue measures which the low standards of the age and country would have ranked as corrupt. Here we find developed the consequences of a quality which is always cumulative in its operation. Leyrit was silent, he was obstinate, but he was also weak; and under him the government visibly fell into

hopeless disorder. Ranga Pillai mentions many details in which he had no personal interest. The Second, as Sepoy Paymaster, draws for twice as many as were actually with the colours; one officer appropriates part of the Turaiyûr peshkash; another levies a rupee on every traveller passing by Gingee; the Company's servants oblige the merchants to supply them with cloth while the Company's Investment has still to be provided. In short, as the diarist observes, Dupleix might have taken money for himself, but he had at least kept a sharp look-out for the misconduct of others, whereas Leyrit suffered all to do very much as they pleased. And his indolence extended beyond mere indifference to financial dishonesty. A striking episode exhibits him on a visit to the ancient forts of Gingee passing carelessly on and ignoring the outcries of the palankin-bearers on whom one of his followers had drawn his sword.

The results of the Governor's personal weakness were heightened by the weakness of his official position. He was not regarded as likely long to hold his high office. More than once we hear discontented councillors muttering that he had never been appointed by the Company, but had succeeded merely by the orders of Godeheu. His position must then have seemed to depend on Godeheu's ability

to uphold in France the policy which he had adopted in India ; and no doubt many who had learnt at first hand what an inexhaustible fertility of resource was possessed by Dupleix, reckoned not without probability that even if the latter failed in procuring his own restoration, he would at least succeed in reversing Godeheu's policy and overthrowing those who had been selected to carry it out.

II

The Europeans of Pondichery were thus in a condition of progressive discontent and demoralisation ; and the Indians living under the French flag were still more uncertain of the future. Astrologers had been predicting a time of universal misfortune for the peoples from the West—predictions which were confirmed by the news of the Great Earthquake at Lisbon and the re-opening of the struggle between the English and the French. At times Ranga Pillai seems to have fancied that the former were specially marked by Fate for destruction. When he hears that they had lost Calcutta to Siraj-ud-daula and Vizagapatam to Bussy, he thinks it is the beginning of their complete expulsion from India, so little could he gauge the real significance of these ironical events. But he judges more

shrewdly the portents which appear in Pondichery itself—when, for instance, on the Feast of St. George—the Governor's name-day—the flag hoisted in honour of the occasion is blown from the mast, and when the umbrella catches fire in Vinâyakan's marriage-pandal. "Such evils and injustice," he reflects, "were seen when Arcot, Madras, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, Golconda and Delhi were in their days of decline."

No doubt his presentiments of evil were sharpened by his sense of personal wrongs; his administrative functions had been almost suspended by the growing activity of Leyrit's private dubâsh, Kandappan, so that he had little more share in the government of the town itself than he had had in the later days of Dupleix' rule; his moral sense was severely offended by the bribes which Kandappan exacted by the aid of his position, and by the rise to influence and dignity of the despised *Ârombâttai*, Vinâyakan, by means of the wealth which he had improperly obtained at the Company's expense; he was himself growing old and inactive; he complains of lassitude; he loses his appetite; his wife dies; and though he performs her funeral rites with great magnificence at a cost of 5,000 pagodas, and was received by the Governor with extraordinary honour, he must often have felt that

his best days were past. This feeling perhaps dictated his reminiscences—regrettably bald—of former Governors, and his praise of Dupleix, of whom at one time he had had little good to say.

Meanwhile the condition of the territories that remained under French control was low. They had been ruined by war; the cultivators had lost their cattle and seed-corn; but one family remained where formerly had been ten; and ryots who used to till 20 cawnies could not till one; then the rains failed; and in the following autumn the Carnatic was ravaged by small-pox. Popular alarm and excitement was reflected in the stories of the appearance of the Goddess Mâriamman in strange forms in divers places; men gave themselves out as possessed by her; others took vows and made offerings; there was evidently an epidemic of religious excitement. Ranga Pillai's attitude towards this is highly interesting. He records the stories as they reach him without comment; but when one of his agents wrote to say that the Goddess had appeared to him in human form, demanding gifts, the diarist replies in a vein of ironic sarcasm, recommending an indelicate alternative instead of sanctioning the gifts which his agent had promised.

III.

In these circumstances the diarist's position as rénter was peculiarly difficult. Famine and disease raised difficulties that of themselves rendered the full realization of the land revnues impossible ; but besides these arose those obstructions, tolerated by Leyrit's feeble government, which, Ranga Pillai alleges, rendered the collection of the revenues altogether impossible. In the introduction to the previous volume, I have already pointed out the difficulties which arose from the conduct of the sureties and of the commandants. In the present volume we find these difficulties developed to their conclusion. In the first place the sureties were not required to make good the obligations into which they had entered ; but worse than that, they even put forward claims to the repayment of sums which they said they had advanced to the sub-renters but which Ranga Pillai said were the sums which the sub-renters had promised them for their guarantee. Whatever they were, Ranga Pillai was obliged by the Governor to pay what they demanded. So far as the sureties were concerned, it was evidently a case of "Heads I win, tails you lose ;" and as evidently individual interests, here as in the case of the Investment, were being preferred to those of the Company.

In the second place Ranga Pillai's agents were obstructed in various ways by the commandants of the various parties scattered through the French Carnatic. For example, if a poligar were pressed for payment, complaints would be sent in to the Governor that the renter was using undue severity ; and Ranga Pillai even alleges in a letter to the councillor Boyelleau, printed as an appendix to the present volume, that his *amâldars* were imprisoned till they had purchased their release, and that defaulting ryots easily bought effective protection from the military officers in their neighbourhood. These assertions rest upon the diarist's own testimony ; but he is unlikely to have invented the enquiries which Leyrit made from time to time, obviously at the instigation of the commandants ; and our own experience in the same area shows that interference such as Ranga Pillai asserts to have taken place was far from impossible under a Governor far more capable than Leyrit and amidst a service far less demoralised than that of the French Company.

Then again there was a group of councillors at Pondichery decidedly opposed to Ranga Pillai's management. It was composed of Moracin, du Bausset and Delarche. All had been intimately associated with Dupleix, and all had been opposed to Godeheu who had

restored the Company's dubâsh to an active part in the administration. Moracin had married Dupleix' niece, Mlle. de Kerjean, after the death of her former husband, de Choisy; du Bausset was acting as attorney in charge of Dupleix' affairs in India; and Delarche, through his knowledge of Persian, had been employed in various matters which the diarist certainly regarded as appertaining to himself. As against these, Ranga Pillai's party in Council consisted of the Second, (Barthélemy) and Boyelleau, neither of whom was on the best of terms with the Governor, and the first of whom, on Ranga Pillai's own showing, was devoted to his own private interests. Accordingly when Ranga Pillai fell so far behind with his payments that he seemed to have realized less than half the revenues due, circumstances provided his enemies with a weapon of attack which his friends found it very difficult to ward off, the more so as the Pondichery treasury was almost empty.

Another circumstance contributed to their difficulty. Shortly after Leyrit's arrival, Ranga Pillai had undertaken the management of his private trade and other pecuniary interests. But private trade had decayed since the palmy days when Lenoir had made an honest fortune out of it; and the impoverished Carnatic afforded few of those political

plums which had promised to Dupleix such inexhaustible possibilities of wealth. Moreover when occasions arose offering a chance of profitable negotiations, Leyrit did not always consult Ranga Pillai, nor, when he consulted him, did he always use his agency. Hence a breach appeared between the two. The *Courtier* resented the advice and influence of others, and tended more and more to neglect this very important branch of his duties, while Leyrit began to regard him as a man of large promise and small performance. Early in the present volume, it may be noted, Leyrit is complaining that Ranga Pillai has neglected his private trade ; and a little later we find him refusing a diamond because it is too dear, and afterwards annoyed because the diamond has been taken away.

Another matter added its wedge to the widening breach between the Governor and the *Courtier*. Leyrit, it appears, on the statements of Desvaux and others, was inclined to regard the amount of Ranga Pillai's lease as net revenue, whereas the latter contended that it was gross revenue and that he was responsible only for the balance remaining after the revenue establishments and contingencies had been paid. The Governor did not know enough to judge whether this claim was well or ill-founded ; and at last it was decided

to send out three councillors to inspect the country and examine the revenue accounts. This was in June 1756.

One of these, M. Guillard, was deputed to inspect the Srîrangam country, which was not included in Ranga Pillai's lease; the other two were sent, M. Boyelleau to inspect the country of what we should now call the Gingee district, and M. Desvaux that of the Tiruviti district. Against this measure the *Courtier* and Flacourt (renter of Srîrangam, though Bâli Chetti had been reported to the Company as holding the farm) loudly protested, as likely, nay certain, to throw the revenue management into confusion, to encourage the ryots to withhold the revenue, and to injure the Company's interests. In these objections, there was no doubt a measure of truth, but I should suppose them to be far from the whole truth, though we have no certainty in the matter and can only judge the balance of probability. It is inherently likely that the revenue administration was fundamentally bad. If it was not, the Carnatic must have been very different from those other provinces of India which were on the eve of falling under British control. Ranga Pillai himself, growing old, and as we know, little capable now of much exertion, did not, and indeed could not exercise that close personal supervision which

we may assume to have been indispensably necessary. His personal administration may well have been entirely honest; it probably was; and yet the general administration may have been, and probably was, extravagant and corrupt.

Of the inspectors sent into Ranga Pillai's country, one, Boyelleau, was favourable to him, the other, Desvaux, was not. The latter is alleged to have coerced the ryots and others into furnishing such accounts as he desired. No such complaints were made about Boyelleau; yet we find that in the Gingee country out of a revenue of 1,59,000 rupees, 80,000, or more than half, had been absorbed by the *sibbandis* and other items of expenditure, and more than a quarter had still to be collected. In these circumstances the Pondichery Council cannot be blamed for desiring a reform, or for regarding Ranga Pillai's management as inadequate.

The measures which they took were in principle the same as those taken by the English in Bengal in the like case. They appointed supervisors—Desvaux for Tiruviti, Boyelleau for Gingee, and Guillard for Tirukkôyilûr and Vriddhachalam—but these took even less share in the actual administration than their early English counterparts in Bengal. They were concerned with the

revenue collection only ; and only one of them, Desvaux, was prepared to undertake any personal responsibility for that. The other two merely appointed Ranga Pillai's *amaldârs* and renters ; indeed Guillard explicitly told the *Courtier* that all he was going to do was to appoint a deputy to report the daily news and inform him how the collections were going on. Though Ranga Pillai's management may well have needed reform, the Pondichery councillors were evidently not the persons to effect it.

The fact is further illustrated by the curious procedure which the Council followed in this matter. One would have expected the defaulting *fermier-général* to have been summoned before the Council and examined, his accounts and explanations required and considered, and at last a formal resolution adopted. But nothing of the sort took place. Ranga Pillai hears of the appointment of the inspectors indirectly. No formal communication seems to have been made to him. And the transformation of the inspectors into supervisors was similarly obscure. Ranga Pillai hears indirectly that the Governor has given Desvaux *parwânas* for the *mahals* placed under his charge ; the next day Boyelleau sends for him and discusses the transfer of the Gingee country as a matter

already known. This was on September 19 and 20 ; but the management was not formally taken away from the *Courtier* until November 7. Then Lenoir was appointed to examine and report on the accounts ; but so little care was taken of the matter that they were still unsettled at the close of the volume.

IV

Politically the Carnatic continued to enjoy that truce which had brought to an inconclusive end the struggle inaugurated by Dupleix. The only train of events of any interest in this connection was the reduction of Mîr 'Abd-ul-rahmân whom Pâpayya Pillai had entrusted with the fort of Elavânasûr when he had control of the French revenues. At the moment the centre of political interest lay in Bengal ; and this instalment of the Diary includes those pregnant events—the capture and recovery of Calcutta, and the fall of Chandernagore ; the last entry of the present volume is dated two days after the battle of Plassey. To Ranga Pillai the fall of Calcutta heralded nothing but the approaching expulsion of the English from India. That was entirely natural ; but it seems not a little curious that he should not know the name of the ruling Nawâb of Bengal. At first he hears that the English have been attacked by 'Ali Virdi Khân ; then the name

of their antagonist becomes Qâsim Pâdshâh. Presently he records gossip that the English after recovering the city had all been surrounded and slain. Amid such errors, omission to refer to the Black Hole can have no significance. Of the capture of Chandernagore, as one would expect, we have longer references and much more detail. It was indeed a matter which nearly affected many at Pondichery. Lenoir was so upset by the personal losses which the event portended that he was unable to pursue his investigation into Ranga Pillai's revenue accounts. In this connection we find copied into the Diary a French narrative—probably one which the diarist received from one of his friends—supplemented by a more elaborate narrative in Tamil, which appears to be based on the French with the addition of details either omitted from the first by careless copying (evident in other respects) or gleaned from conversation. But here, as in the case of events at Calcutta, omissions and inaccuracies are far more noticeable than any other feature of the news that reached the diarist's ears. One is driven to the conclusion that Bengal seemed far away, and that there was little real touch between the two provinces, in spite of the trade-relations between them.

V

Finally we have various references to the progress of Bussy in the Deccan. By 1756 the difficulties to which Bussy had been constantly exposed had come to a crisis: but interesting as the events were, and comparatively near as was the scene of action, the Diary rather illustrates the sort of news that was flying round Pondichery than adds any definite details to our knowledge of events. In part this may have been due to the financial decay of the city. In 1754 Dupleix had protested a bill for a lakh of rupees drawn on him by Bussy, and Godeheu had confirmed the protest. The result was that the principal sowcars had recalled their agents from Pondichery; and at this time the bankers were incomparably the best-informed class of Indians outside the inner circles of the larger Courts. The Madras Government made a practice of checking the news sent in by their *vakîls* with the news received in the sowcars' shops; so that the closing of these agencies in Pondichery not only marked its financial inferiority but also deprived it of a useful source of political information. Ranga Pillai's news was mainly derived from Arcot, and was sometimes sowcars' news, sometimes news current in the durbâr of Muhammad 'Alî.

Two or three points in this section of the Diary deserve a few words of comment. The same news-letter seems to have stated that Salabat Jang had made peace with Bussy and that he had sent a *parwâna* to Muhammad 'Alî. The underlying inconsistency of these two statements does not seem to have aroused comment; and yet Salabat Jang's *parwâna* was evidently only part of that policy of replacing French by English troops which had long been under consideration. Bussy had been dismissed; Salabat Jang's ministers were resolved to destroy him if they could; and the 'peace' was but a transparent subterfuge. Yet Leyrit did not place under orders the troops designed to relieve Bussy until almost a month later.

The same spirit of evasion and delay was evinced regarding the reception of Salabat Jang's letters to the Governor and to the King of France announcing his reasons for dismissing Bussy. No audience was accorded to the messenger who had brought them until news had come of Law's successful march and the subsequent agreement. In this case the forms of oriental diplomacy permitted the letters to lie unopened and undelivered until they had answered themselves.

The third point relates to the destruction of Bobbili. In its first form the news that Ranga

Pillai received was that Vijayarâma Râjâ and Bussy had come to blows, the former being slain and Vizianagram being taken and plundered. This purported to be—what assuredly it was not—the contents of a letter from Bussy to the Governor; but so unsettled was the character of the times, so shifting the alliances, so uncertain the part which any state or man would play, that this story could be recorded, without a hint of doubt although, as the diarist was to learn three days later, it was the exact opposite of the facts.

VI

Thus the volume comes to an end, in the middle of 1757, at a time when the French could still hope for a successful issue of the struggle. Bussy had expelled the English from the Northern Circars; he might march on, recover Chandernagore, destroy Calcutta, and repeat in Bengal his successes of the Deccan; and an expedition from Europe might destroy Madras. Yet the battle of Plassey—that momentous and ill-contested action—had been fought and won; the wealthiest province of India would supply treasure with which the English troops would be paid and fed, while Lally's men starved or deserted. Ill-omened too was the disorder of the Pondichery Government; it meant that

Lally would be distracted from his campaign by a thousand quarrels and abuses. When to these was added the weight of English superiority at sea, French hopes were evidently fated to disappointment.

ÂNANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY.

JANUARY 1756.

Thursday, January 1.[1]—As it was the European New Year's Day, I rose early, and, taking Chiranjîvi Annâswâmi, and Appâvu, in the usual fashion, visited M. Leyrit, the Governor, M. Barthélemy the Second, M. Guillard and the other councillors, officials, *sous-marchands*, the religious and the priests, in the proper order, with bouquets and limes, offering our good wishes for the New Year. We returned home by noon. Owing to the troubles, town and country had already lost their beauty; but now the rains have failed, and famine has fallen like a mill-stone falling on a sore finger. I have dwelt here these 33 years but never have I seen so bad a year. May God deliver the people from these evil days.

Sunday, January 4.[2]—At half-past seven this morning, I went to the Fort, and paid my respects to M. Leyrit, the Governor. I reported that certain persons were ready to visit him. He told me to bring them; so they brought their nazars to the Governor as follows :—

	Pagodas.
The Company's merchants in money ...	1,000
In cloth	100
Sungu Sêshâchala Chetti	43

[1] *21st Mârgali, Yuva.* [2] *24th Mârgali, Yuva.*

	Pagodas.	
Kâlavây Kumara Pillai for the outlying villages	21	
The cultivators of Olukarai	21	
Chintla Padmanâdha Nâyakkan's son ...	25	
Guntûr Venkatâchala Chetti, renter of Villiyanallûr	250	
Pieces of silk		22
Savarimuttu Nayinâr	50	
Total in money	1,410	
In cloth		122
In all	1,532	

Monday, January 19.[1]—At half-past seven this morning, I went to the Fort. M. Leyrit, the Governor, M. Barthélemy the Second, and others were in council; so I could not see any one; I went to my office in the flower-garden. While there, I heard minute guns being fired from the ship which has just returned from an expedition to Achin. They say that her captain is dead. On entering the roads, the Toccador[2] aboard the ship sent a cadjan letter as follows:—'We have on board 40 horses for the Company, and 10 or 15 on the officers' account, together with some betel-nut and other small goods. We sailed from Achin on December 26, put into Yânâm on the tenth

[1] *9th Tai, Yuva.*

[2] *i.e.*, the Assayer who was always sent on voyages, returns of which were likely to be made in gold.

day, then touched at Masulipatam, where we took in goods and have now arrived 25 days after leaving Achin. This should be known to you and orders should be sent. When the officers went ashore to amuse themselves, a quarrel arose between the Achinese and the ship's captain, the third officer and the ship's writers. M. Perrier was killed. I will report other matters in person when all things will be made clear.'

The Governor said, 'The commandant of Tiruviti writes that Muhammad 'Alî Khân is sending troops to seize Elavâsanallûr and that the English are also sending him help. Is this true?' I reminded him that I had reported this to him two or three days earlier. When he told me to post people to bring news in the countries of the English and Muhammad 'Alî Khân, I replied, 'Formerly you ordered that the Company should pay the people thus sent out. I will appoint proper men to get news and report it to you.' The Governor told me to write to them often and get news. I said I would do so, and, having taken leave, went to my office in the flower-garden.

Tuesday, January 20.[1]—This morning the Governor said that the commandant at Olagiyanallûr had written saying that Mu'tabar

[1] *10th Tai, Yuva.*

Khân, son of Husain Sâhib Tâhir of Vâlikondâpuram, had marched with his troops, 500 foot, 300 horse and two or three cannon, and encamped about five miles from Olagiyanallûr in order to seize the poligar of Mangalûr.[1] He asked if this was true. I said that it was, for my amaldâr had reported it to me. I added, 'Mu'tabar Khân formerly wrote to me that the poligar of Mangalûr had not given him the usual perquisites, or paid his peshkash, and therefore asked that orders should be sent to him. I wrote to him accordingly, ordering him to behave with due respect. I wrote also to Mu'tabar Khân yesterday saying that orders had been sent to the poligar, directing him to behave with propriety. But as now there is news of his march, I will write to him again reminding him of your orders and saying that it is not proper for him to encamp in our country, but that, if the poligar does not obey, he must write to us and do as we tell him, and that unless he withdraws his troops, we shall cease to countenance him. If he still persists, the commandant may be ordered to deal with him properly.' The Governor agreed.

Friday, January 23.[2]—I did not go out this morning; but I hear that a Council was held

[1] A village in the South Arcot district. [2] *13th Tai, Yuva*

to-day, about the commission brought by M. d'Auteuil from Europe which entitles him to have the *tambour* beaten as for the Second, places the commandants, officers, etc., under him, and empowers him to appoint or remove people, to send troops and recall them, as he pleases, without the Governor's orders. Not only did he procure the minister's orders but also a commission from the Company giving him such powers independent of the Governor. M. Fessac is commandant with this man over him. But the councillors do not understand how he can manage things without the Governor's orders ; they do not know what to do, and the matter is unsettled. I do not know what has been decided to-day. When M. Lenoir was Governor, Colonel[1] La Farelle arrived with similar powers ; but M. Lenoir wrote to the ministers and the Company that, if orders were given without the Governor's knowledge and consent, he could not conduct affairs and that no such powers should be given to any one in future. Thereon the powers given to M. La Farelle were revoked, and it was written that henceforth no rank should be given higher than major-general, and that the general command should be given to the Governor

[1] Reading *Kolonel* for *Konsel*.

alone.[1] That custom was followed until M. d'Auteuil has received these powers. I think the reason is that, when Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân and Nâsîr Jang fought near Valudâvûr, in the time of M. d'Auteuil's command, the officers and soldiers mutinied, returning to Pondichery and presenting a petition to the Council against the Governor, declaring that they would go to Europe; and they did so rather than remain under the power of M. Dupleix. The latter then wrote to the ministers and the Company, asking that M. d'Auteuil should be given the same powers as M. La Farelle had formerly received; therefore the present orders have been given. But the new Governor, M. Leyrit, thinks that the grant of such powers will reduce him to impotence, as happened in the time of M. Lenoir. Matters have not yet been settled, nor is it known what will be done.

M. Goupil, the former commander, who has served the Company ten years longer than M. d'Auteuil, has quarrelled with him about his powers, for he will not obey him, and has complained to the Council. M. Leyrit, M. Lenoir, and M. Boyelleau are on M. Goupil's side,

[1] Cf *Mémoires et correspondance du Chevalier et du Général de la Farelle* pp. 93, etc. Ranga Pillai seems to exaggerate the matter somewhat. The dispute between Lenoir and La Farelle was merely about the custody of the keys of the fortress (and probably the giving of the word of the day and the countersign).

while M. Barthélemy, M. Guillard, M. Delarche, M. du Bausset and M. Miran—five in all—are for M. d'Auteuil. As the majority favours M.d'Auteuil, he was successful; but the Council have decided that the matter should be referred to the Company for orders and that in the meantime, M. d'Auteuil should command according to his commission; but as M. Goupil declares that he will not serve under M. d'Auteuil, and as M. Leyrit favours M. Goupil and cannot show his anger against M. d'Auteuil, it is also resolved that M. Goupil may remain quietly at home and draw his pay, till orders come from Europe. This has been done because M. Leyrit is on M. Goupil's side. M. d'Auteuil's rank should have been announced at the head of the troops to whom his commission should have been read, to the sound of the drums. But as the Governor is angry with M. d'Auteuil, this has not been done; M.d'Auteuil was sent for privately and told to take charge of his command.

Saturday, January 24.[1]—I have not been out these three days on account of the death of Chiranjîvi Tambi Venkatâchalam.[2] To-day, on my way to the Fort, I visited M. Barthélemy's to thank him for his condolences. I then said, 'Venkatâchalam's office should be held

[1] *14th Tai, Yuva.* [2] Grandson of Ranga Pillai's paternal uncle.

by one of my own family.[1] Be pleased to give orders accordingly.' M. Barthélemy replied that he would give it to any one I proposed, adding, 'Nallatambi used to be poligar, but is now in great straits without any appointment. He begs for the post, and, as he is starving, he should be made poligar somewhere. The Governor said that he would see to it, but I told M. Leyrit that the appointment had long been held by your family. You should speak to him about it.' I said I would do so, and, having taken leave of M. Barthélemy, went to the Fort. The Governor was talking with several persons, and was very late going into his room ; but I waited to pay my respects. I then said, 'From M. Lenoir's time, for 25 years, Tambi Venkatâchalam was Choultry dubâsh ; when he fell ill, M. Dupleix permitted me to appoint my elder brother's son, who held the place till God was pleased to end his life. With your leave, I will appoint the man who married my younger brother's daughter.' The Governor said he would see that the appointment was given to one of my people and that he would give orders after speaking to M. Barthélemy about it to-morrow. I thanked him.

[1] According to the practice of hereditary office.

He then asked the Arcot news. I said that Muhammad 'Alî Khân had fallen sick after eating betel sent him by the wife of Safdar 'Alî Khân of Vellore, whereon he had resolved to move from Sholinghur, where he was encamped, to Arcot, to be cured and then prepare to capture Vellore, as the Vellore man had attempted to poison him; that he had marched with 1,000 soldiers, 2,000 sepoys, 200 or 300 troopers and six cannon and was encamped a mile from Arcot on the road to Vellore. The Governor then asked why Murtazâ 'Alî Khân had as yet sent no one. I said I had received a letter reporting news at Arcot that people had been despatched hither with news and letters from thence, and (I added) that Mîr Asad had sent a vakîl with a letter to Muhammad 'Alî Khân concerning his desire to capture the fort of Chêtpattu and its dependent country. Mîr Asad (it is said) also visited him at Arcot, where Muhammad 'Alî Khân received him with respect, ordering salutes to be fired; and decided to give him the fort of Chêtpattu with villages worth a lakh and a half, for which reason Muhammad 'Alî Khân's and Mîr Asad's people are tying *tôranams*.

I then reported that I had received a letter saying that Khair-ud-dîn Khân, who was marching against the fort of Elavâsanallûr with 500 foot, 200 soldiers and 300 horse, had

reached Tiruvannâmalai with letters ordering assistance to be afforded him from the Governor of Madras to the Governor of Fort St. David, and from Muhammad 'Alî Khân.

I also reported a letter which has been received saying that a son of Muhammad 'Alî Khân by a concubine has been married, and that arrangements are being made for the marriages of his legitimate son and daughter, after the celebration of which he will capture Vellore and then proceed to Trichinopoly. I added I had heard of rumours at Cuddalore that 1,000 soldiers with powder, shot and cannon were to be sent to Arcot for the attack of Vellore.

Sunday, January 25.[1]—At eight o'clock this morning I went to the Fort and paid my respects to M. Leyrit, the Governor, on his return from church after Mass, with M. Barthélemy, M. Guillard and other councillors and officers, and, after reporting the Arcot news, I said :—'Salabat Jang is near Kalyani and Gulbarga. He has sent Shâh Nawâz Khân who is on his way, to Muhammad 'Alî Khân and Salabat Jang will come afterwards. A battle has been fought between the armies of Morâri Râo and the Nânâ's younger brother, son of Bhâji Râo, on the other side of the Kistna

[1] *15th Tai, Yuva.*

where the former's troops were beaten. The troops of the Nânâ's younger brother and the Nânâ himself are coming here with a lakh of horse. Mîr Asad is marching with Muhammad 'Alî Khân's troops to Chêtpattu, and *tôranams* have been tied in those jaghirs. 70,000 rupees more have been demanded for Vellore besides the lakh already settled ; they[1] have agreed to pay part in money and the rest in elephants, horses, jewels, cloth, etc. Mr. Clive, who is coming from England as Governor of Fort St. David, will arrive in two or three days after touching at Achin. He is coming with the Company's orders to make Fort St. David independent of Madras, instead of dependent as before, and the Governor will correspond direct with Europe.[2] It is said that 1,000 soldiers are being prepared in Fort St. David with the necessary equipment to be sent to Vellore.' When I had reported all this, the Governor said that the news of Mr. Clive's coming to Fort St. David with orders to correspond direct with Europe instead of being subordinate to Madras as heretofore, was only a rumour and he thought the Company would never permit this.

He continued, 'Murtazâ 'Alî Khân has not prospered because he is a bad, untrustworthy

[1] *i.e.* Murtazâ 'Alî.

[2] Probable but untrue.

and irresolute man. I have already sent him word by M. Delarche that he need not pay peshkash to Muhammad 'Alî Khân, but that if it was demanded, he might reply that he was our ally and that we had forbidden him to pay peshkash, but that we would settle it, and that if he were attacked, we would send troops to his help. Nevertheless he sent a vakîl to Muhammad 'Alî Khân besides sending troopers, sepoys, foot, etc., with him against the poligars, and he is paying the money he has agreed for. He has no sense of what is right. If only he had done as we told him, he might have ruled the subah of Arcot.' I replied, 'True; but that was not his destiny. When M. Dupleix was Governor, he summoned him and promised him the Arcot subah; but he remembers what then took place, and so does not trust us. Being himself deceitful, he suspects others of deceit. He will ruin himself.' Then I related his whole history from his treacherously killing his guest Safdar 'Alî Khân in his bed. The Governor observed that he was a bad man, and told me to send men to find out the truth of Khair-ud-dîn Khân's march with troops to attack 'Abd-ul-rahmân of Eravâsanallûr fort. I said I would do so.

The Governor sent for me again and asked if I could not send people to Murtazâ 'Alî

Khân to advise him secretly to be more prudent in future. I said I could find a way of doing so. 'How?' he asked. I replied, 'Salabat Jang wrote a *tâkîd* to Muhammad 'Alî Khân last October, saying that he had no right to collect peshkash from the killedars and zamindars, that he was not to interfere in such matters and that he would come in January to collect the peshkash himself. He also wrote to Murtazâ 'Alî Khân of Vellore forbidding him to pay peshkash to Muhammad 'Alî Khân. Mûrtazâ 'Alî Khân replied to Salabat Jang and to you and to 'Abd-ul-rahmân who brought your title, *turra* and dress of honour. We can take advantage of this to write to him.'—'Do so,' he said. I said I would do so, and having taken leave, went to my office in the flower-garden where I attended to my private business, and then came home.

He told me to write the Arcot news in French, which I did.

Tuesday, January 27.[1]—A few soldiers and sepoys encamped at the Kâttumêttu.[2]

At five o'clock this evening, M. Leyrit, the Governor, sent for me; when I went, he asked why the man supposed to be Murtazâ 'Alî Khân's vakîl had not visited him. I replied,

[1] *17th Tai, Yuva.*

[2] Probably the tamarind-grove behind and overlooking Pondichery. Literally the word means 'Forest-hill.'

'I indeed heard that one Qâdir Sâhib had for these two months past been discussing business with you by means of M. Delarche, 'Alî Naqî and Razâ Sâhib, so I did nothing.'— 'Well,' he said, 'send for Qâdir Sâhib, and discuss matters with him.' I agreed and said that I had written a letter as requested to Murtazâ 'Alî Khân of Vellore. The Governor said, 'Confer with the vakîl who has come, and I will get the troops ready and order them into camp at the Kâttumêttu.' I agreed, and said I would send for the vakîl.

Thursday, January 29.[1]—To-day's news is that a disagreement has arisen between the Râjâ of Mysore and dalavâi Dêvarâja Udaiyâr; and the Râjâ has written secretly to the Nânâ for troops. It is said at Arcot that Raghôba, the Nânâ's younger brother, is this side of the Kistna with 60,000 horse; consequently there is great fear; and the people of Vellore are flying thence on the news that Muhammad 'Alî Khân and the English are marching upon Vellore. As the English are marching upon Vellore in spite of the agreement between the English and the French that they shall make no war for 18 months, the French are making ready an army to help

[1] *19th Tai, Yuva.*

him [Murtazâ] which will halt at the Kâttumêttu and then march.

When I was at the Fort this morning, M. Delarche delivered to the Governor a letter from the killedar of Vellore, saying that the English and Muhammad 'Alî Khân were plundering his villages and meant to capture his fort. After reading the letter, the Governor asked why Murtazâ 'Alî Khân had not written to me about it as I had written to him according to his orders and, having sent for M. d'Auteuil, told him to prepare troops for despatch. A letter to this effect was written and sent to Vellore.

Friday, January 30.[1]—At eight o'clock to-day, I went to the Fort and paid my respects to the Governor, when he was sauntering up and down the great hall on the south. The second *Capitan* of Porto Novo[2] visited the Governor, and, after paying his compliments, said that he was on his way from Sadras to Porto Novo and offered to carry any messages he wished to send. But the Governor only replied with compliments that he would write if there was anything important, and did not even ask him to stay to dinner. The Governor usually asks English or Dutch visitors to stay a day before proceeding, but this time he broke through

[1] *20th Tai, Yuva.* [2] *i.e.*, of the Dutch factory there.

the custom and gave him leave with compliments. Mijnheer Jacobi [?], the second *Capitan* of Porto Novo, then turned to me and asked if I were Ranga Pillai. I said, yes. He continued, 'I have heard that when you were formerly at Porto Novo, there was much friendship between you and the *Capitans* of the Dutch factory, and I believe the same friendship continues. I hope it may do so in future.' I paid him my compliments, saying that our friendship should be increased by letters, and, having taken leave of him, I went aside. The *Capitan* and his son then departed. The Governor went aside with me to hear the news and then went towards his room; but before he went, M. Miran gave him a letter, which he signed and gave me for despatch. He remarked that the commandants were complaining. I replied, 'Their complaints and my explanations are well known. They have been giving much trouble these 15 days in order to make some money in the harvest season, and my people there threaten to come away. I have now written out in detail all that I have not reported for fear of wearying you.' So saying I gave him my paper,[1] and

[1] I have not seen any letter written to Leyrit of or about this date, but it must have dealt with the numerous disputes between Ranga Pillai's amaldârs and the French commandants of garrisons. Long afterwards the English continued to be afflicted with similar troubles in their revenue administration.

continued, 'As often as I have complained to you, you have written *tâkîds*. They write one thing to you but continue to do as they please. I have not liked to speak to you often about it for fear of displeasing you; but as things are, I am losing my money and yet remain responsible for the full amount. Lest you should deal severely with me if the money be not paid, I have written here what they are doing, so that you may learn the whole matter. Let the several commandants be ordered not to interfere in these affairs; or else I must give an account of the dues and you must ask them to manage affairs and collect the sums due to the Company.' Speaking thus plainly, I asked for receipts for what I had paid in, and added, 'This is the best time for this is the harvest season; a month hence it will be very difficult to collect money from the cultivators, otherwise I should not speak so confidently. I have written all the details in the three letters. Be pleased to read them and do as you think best, but tell me definitely.' Thereon he read them twice with much annoyance. He placed the papers along with the copies of the letters written to the several commandants, and said he would give orders.

He then said, 'Don't you see that the killedar of Vellore has only written because his bowels have turned to water on Muhammad 'Alî Khân's threatening his fort?' I replied,

'That is not the way with Murtazâ 'Alî Khân alone, but is the nature of all the Muhammadans; M. Dupleix alone knew how to keep them in check. Now that you have begun, you will learn their nature and do what is necessary.' He replied, 'The Muhammadans are ungrateful, lying people who at once forget benefits.' For a quarter of an hour he talked of the Muhammadans, of Chandâ Sâhib, Nâsîr Jang and Razâ Sâhib. I said, 'Vellore fort, Chêtpattu and the Elavânasûr killa have been saved by your despatching troops; but none of these three people[1] will show you the least gratitude if they can help it; but, with your permission I will write to them of this matter.' The Governor replied, 'They are mean fellows, who will show no gratitude. What you have said is true, and you may write.' I then said that the amaldâr of Wandiwash had written that, on the arrival of a camel-messenger from Arcot, the commander of the troops attacking the Chêtpattu killa had marched away with his army. He only smiled and observed that Khair-ud-dîn Khân would do the same.

He then complained angrily that should disturbances arise, no cloth would come in as I had not warned the merchants.

[1] *i.e.*, Murtazâ 'Alî in Vellore, Nazîr Muhammad at Chêtpattu and 'Abd-ul-rahmân at Elavânasûr. For Nazîr Muhammad see Orme, *History*, Vol. II, p. 242.

FEBRUARY 1756.

Sunday, February 1.[1]—I received a letter to-day saying that 40 or 50 tents had been pitched on the bank of the Devanâmpattanam river, that 40 or 50 more were being got ready, and that ten companies of the soldiers newly come from Europe—500 in all—with a mortar, two *bômbu*,[2] two 18-pounders, two 12-pounders and four or five guns *à minute* were making ready to march against Elavâsanallûr and Vellore.

I hear that when M. Saubinet passed by Gingee, he ordered the officers to ride at the head of their men and those who had no horses had to march on foot.[3] This led to a quarrel between the officers and M. Saubinet, who (according to the report sent by the amaldârs at Gingee to M. Leyrit, the Governor and M. Barthélemy) has been stabbed to death. This man has been in service since M. Dupleix' time; M. Leyrit the Governor appointed him major; and he used to flog his soldiers mercilessly and make the officers keep their guards exactly according to the European fashion. The way in which he trained officers, soldiers and

[1] *22nd Tai, Yuva.*
[2] *Query*, howitzers.
[3] *i.e.*, instead of travelling in their palankins.

Muhammadan sepoys for warfare, made them all tremble as at the sight of Yama.[1] Many soldiers who had lost their arms or legs, or received wounds in the loins, have been flogged by him to death. Thus many soldiers and sepoys have deserted for fear of being flogged by him, and jemadars of sepoys have given up their posts. Just as a dancing-master makes the actors dance to his orders, so he trained the soldiers and sepoys from sunrise to sunset, for ten months. He informed the Governor about the money given to M. Barthélemy's Râman by Pennâthûr Sâmâ Râo who was in charge of the foot, Mahâdêva Ayyan, Saiyid Husain, and other commanders; and he received three months' pay, which he promised to disburse. Now men say that all this only led to his being stabbed by the officers at Gingee, just as a lamp flares up before going out. In these three months M. Saubinet made 50,000 rupees; M. Barthélemy, since M. Godeheu's time, has been entering the number of sepoys under each jemadar as 400, instead of the real number of 200, and taking the money for himself; on the cavalry business and enlistment of troops, he has made three or four times as much, taking half their pay; in M. Godeheu's time the sepoys and troops received no pay for three or

[1] God of death.

four months, as M. Barthélemy had taken that as well as the pay of those who had left service; and in M. Dupleix' time, under Pâpayya Pillai's management, when Pennâthûr Sâmâ Râo was entrusted with the management of the country, he made money out of the maintenance of the troops. Altogether M. Barthélemy must have made more than five lakhs of rupees, and even his dubâsh Râman more than a lakh, as there are acccounts to prove. As the Company had fallen on evil days, M. Dupleix, the Lion, departed, leaving all to act as they pleased. The Arumpâtai and other country-writers have made lakhs, as have also the Europeans in the several offices. If this is the case with the sepoy and cavalry management, how will it be with the rest? Thus the Company has been robbed of its wealth and reduced to beggary. Though M. Dupleix took all he could, and thus impoverished the Company, he suffered none else to rob. Of the Tamils, Pâpayya Pillai alone made much, and that, not by theft, but by other means. Men say these are signs of the times, and I have written accordingly.

I hear that M. Saubinet was stabbed yesterday.

Yesterday a cooly who was lying on the pial of a Chetti's house in the Chetti Street north of the Valudâvûr gate, was stabbed by

some soldiers and thrown down a well. To-day the corpse was taken up and M. du Bausset, the *greffier* M. des Naudières, and the head-surgeon having examined the body, ordered it to be burnt. In their terror men ask what evil is portended by this injustice. I write accordingly. What must be will be. We shall see what befalls.

Monday, February 2.[1]—This morning when I went to the Fort to see M. Leyrit, the Governor after his return from church with the Second and other councillors, officers, etc. M. Moracin, the chief of Masulipatam, M. La Selle and the others who had accompanied him, I, the Company's merchants, Vijayarâma Râjâ's people and other gumastahs, went and paid our respects to the Governor. When all had gone, M. Barthélemy, who was upstairs, came to me and said, 'M. Leyrit the Governor says that one of your relations may be appointed chief Choultry dubâsh in the place of Venkatâchalam your paternal uncle's grandson. You may therefore send any one you please.' I replied that the ceremonies would be finished by Wednesday, and that I would send some one on Thursday. 'Very well,' he said; 'M. Leyrit has given orders; and I have agreed that the name shall be entered in the accounts and the pay issued

[1] *23rd Tai, Yuva.*

every month.' I thanked him, observing that I need say little as I had his and the Governor's favour. After his departure [ ].

Tuesday, February 10.[1]—At seven o'clock this morning, I went to the Fort as the Company's merchants' cloth and the Yânâm cloth was to be sorted. M. Leyrit, the Governor, M. Bertholin and others were there. I gave M. Leyrit, the Governor, papers containing an account of the English and Muhammad 'Alî Khân at Arcot and Vellore, stating that the English had surrounded the fort of Vellore, raised batteries and prevented our French troops from approaching. The papers also say that the people of the Vellore fort are flying to Arcot, Sadras, Madras and other places, that Mîr Asad's wife has been placed under guard, that soldiers, powder, shot and other munitions of war are being sent from Madras and that Khair-ud-dîn Khân, who was at Tiruvannâmalai about to attack Mîr 'Abd-ul-rahmân at Elavânasûr, has returned to Muhammad 'Alî Khân at Arcot. To the English demand of 2 lakhs of rupees in ready money, Murtazâ 'Alî Khân has replied that he can pay only one lakh in goods, and has sent a letter demanding speedy help from Pondichery, and agreeing to pay a lakh of rupees (besides 50,000 rupees

[1] *2nd Mâsi, Yuva.*

to M. Delarche on account of darbâr expenses). Seven hundred of the Fort St. David soldiers are ready to march to Vellore and give battle, but are halting at the Semmandalam Fort, and have not advanced further. The commandants are again causing great trouble in the country (as has already been written) so that, if their troubles continue, there will be a loss of lakhs, for this is the harvest season; [the amaldârs] cannot therefore be held responsible for the failure of the Company's revenues, but the balances must be collected from the commandants. The Governor read these papers, but said nothing. After talking to the people there, he went upstairs.

Wednesday, February 11.[1]—A ship set sail for the Maldives to-day with the agent of the Râjâ of the Maldives. He came here with six others; as the rest have died, he is returning alone.

Friday, February 13.[2]—I heard this evening that two or three European officers of the English army and some Muhammadan officers of Muhammad 'Alî Khân's army, who had been treating with Murtazâ 'Alî Khân at Vellore, had settled the affair for two lakhs of rupees, and that the English army had quitted their former position near the fort, and

[1] *3rd Mâsi, Yuva.*

[2] *5th Mâsi, Yuva.*

encamped near Kannambâdi village about 5 miles away. The French troops are encamped near Tiruviti and Bâlu Chetti's Choultry beyond Fattehpêttai, and our people are plundering our own country.

There is news from Fort St. David that the 700 soldiers who were encamped at the Semmandai battery in Tiruppâppuliyûr, ready to advance against Vellore, are not to proceed, but their provisions are being stored in the godowns, and the bullocks and coolies who were collected have been sent away.

Saturday, February 14.[1]—The French wrote to the English saying that they should not have advanced against Vellore or demanded peshkash during the truce of 18 months, or collected money from the zamindars and others, and that, if they transgressed their limits, they would be attacked. Now Mr. Pigot, the Governor of Madras, has replied that they mean to collect peshkash and will send an army against Pondichery if the French send troops to hinder them. We shall see what the French will do.

Friday, February 20.[2]—At half-past seven this morning, I went to the Fort, as the Company's merchants' unbleached coarse cloth was being packed at the sorting-godown; and

[1] *8th Mâsi, Yuva.*

[2] *12th Mâsi, Yuva.*

there I found M. Barthélemy, M. Guillard and other councillors. While the cloth was being examined, M. Barthélemy went upstairs to M. Leyrit, the Governor, and I accompanied him. When the Governor came out, M. Barthélemy spoke shortly to him ; the Governor replied in the same manner ; and M. Barthélemy returned angrily to the sorting-godown. As the Governor went gloomily back into his room, I thought I should be unwelcome, and therefore returned to the sorting-godown. M. Barthélemy who was still there, went home angrily after speaking to M. Guillard and the other councillors. M. Barthélemy's sharp speech to the Governor, his angry departure, and his angrily going home after talking with the councillors—all these led me to think that something strange must have happened. I therefore asked some European gentlemen and was told that yesterday an officer had unjustly beaten one of the merchants ; M. Barthélemy had questioned the Second major about it and ordered the officer to be imprisoned ; but the officers and the Major-General, M. d'Auteuil, had gone to Monsieur the Governor, declaring that the latter only, and not the Second, had power to imprison officers, and demanding how the Second could order an officer to be imprisoned. The Governor had sent them away, saying

that the Second was in the wrong, and that the man should be set free ; M. d'Auteuil informed M. Barthélemy of this last night ; and the latter visited the Governor this morning to ask the reason of his decision. The Governor said he had given such orders because the other had no power to imprison officers. M. Barthélemy replied that, as the administration of justice lay with him, he could punish or imprison any European. M. Leyrit replied that he could not. M. Barthélemy replied that every Second had done so, as indeed he himself had till then. The Governor said that although he might have exercised such powers, he could not continue to do so. M. Barthélemy replied that he would not then continue to be the Justice.[1] M. Leyrit replied that he would be very glad if he resigned, for then he would appoint another instead. Thereon M. Barthélemy in great anger went to the sorting-godown, and told the other councillors what had happened, adding that formerly councillors had been masters of the officers, but that now M. Leyrit had made them their servants. Thus he sought to stir up their anger. This is what the gentlemen there told me.

[1] By custom at Pondichery the Second was head of the *Cour de la Chaudrie*.

When 23 bales of cloth had been packed, the councillors went home. Up to now 1,032 bales have been packed; which with 23 packed to-day, make 1,055 bales in all ready for Europe. Of these, 1,000 have been shipped, and the remaining 55 are in the godown. We must see how many more can be packed in the next three or four days, for the Governor wants to lade 1,200 bales (including the 55 now in the godown).

The Governor then sent for me. On my arrival, he went into M. Chevreau's room, whence he took the five or six letters received from the commandant of Chidambaram, and returned into his own room, and sat down. He then called me in and said, 'When the commandant of Chidambaram wrote to the amaldâr of Tiruviti about the faqîr at Muttalûr, the amaldâr threw his letter away disrespectfully instead of replying to it. The commandant has now written that that was why he sent soldiers and sepoys to seize and bring him in. Why did the amaldâr behave so?' I replied, 'That cannot be the truth. The faqîr at Muttalûr claimed the village as his inam, but the amaldâr was ordered to take possession of it. To prevent this, last year half was offered to M. Aumont, and then disturbances arose. The commandant was given honeyed words to induce him to procure the village; but

the amaldâr refused, so sepoys were sent to seize and bring him in bonds. He was put in prison, and then released on paying five rupees. Now, fearing that I may complain to you, he [the commandant] has written in anticipation to excuse himself by saying that the amaldâr took no notice of a letter he had written.'— 'No, no,' the Governor said, 'you can't say that. The commandant would never write lies.' I replied, 'When the commandant writes to you for private reasons saying that the amaldâr has taken no notice of his letters, what can I do if you believe him and give orders? When the amaldârs tremble at the mere names of the commandants, will they take no notice of their letters? What power have they? I do not know what to do, when you decide thus in spite of my many written complaints to you about the troubles he has caused. Plainly, this is my season of ill-luck, and how can I pay the Company's money? If I let any one off, I shall only suffer for it the next day. I say plainly therefore that the villages should be given to them and [the commandants] should be made answerable for the revenues, for I cannot get in the Company's money while they trouble the country.' I said much more than I have written above. But the Governor turned away in displeasure, and asked what I had to say about the faqîr

of Muttalûr. I replied, 'The faqîr of Muttalûr has no village but was given a sanad in the Sâhib Zâda's time. He came to me and offered to pay the revenue if I would separate the village and give it to him instead of allowing the lessee to collect the money. Thereon the village was separated and a sanad given. But then in order to avoid payment, he offered, with honeyed words, to share the village with the commandant. Disturbances were thus caused, and an amaldâr responsible for two lakhs of rupees was treated with disrespect. But how can the revenues be collected when the management is thus harassed? The commandants for their private ends write falsehoods by which two lakhs of revenue are endangered. If you believe them, you will lose two lakhs of rupees; and if this be done over a mere faqîr without due enquiry being made, I can only conclude that this is my time of misfortune. The commandants should have been ordered not to interfere in these affairs to the detriment of the revenue; but that has not been done; so what can be said? I have often described the troubles they cause, and written the same; orders also have been sent. If I say more, you will be angry, so what can I say? I must do as you command.'

The Governor then asked why Agha Sâhib had not been allowed to enjoy the inam village

he claimed in the Chidambaram country. I replied, 'If villages are thus given away, how can I pay the Company's revenues? All are included in the lease; and if these villages are given as inam, how can money come in? If the villages had been omitted from the lease I signed, they might be given away; but they were included in the lease. Moreover, Pâpayya Pillai did not allow these inams; so why should I? I have allowed a cawny for charity in order to acquire glory and virtue, and because I did not wish it to be stopped in my time. Copies of the lease signed by me are with the notary and on the minutes of council; and I have the council's acknowledgment. All can be learnt from them.' Thereon the Governor asked if all these had been included in my writing. I replied that everything could be seen by reading it. The Governor replied that he would order the commandant not to interfere in the faqîr's affair, but that I should attend to it.

[He then] asked about Muhammad 'Alî Khân's business. I said, 'There is a rumour that Killpatrick has been recalled and Mr. Orme sent to Vellore, who has settled the affair for a lakh of pagodas instead of the 50,000 formerly agreed on.[1] He was then given

[1] See Orme, *History*, Vol. I, p. 418.

an entertainment and a salute of 21 guns, and was sent back with presents under another salute of 21 guns. It is also said that Mr. Orme was shown proofs of the grant of Tuttipattu and Agaram in exchange for the Chittoor killa and jaghir, under the signatures of Mr. Saunders, the Governor of Madras, 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân and Muhammad 'Alî Khân's mother, along with the oath taken by 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân; but Mr. Orme would not accept these and was preparing to attack, and that he had written to say so.' The Governor replied, 'He [1] is not a good man. He has done all this in spite of our writing that the fort is ours, that no money need be paid, and that we have sent troops. Why did he agree to pay? He will find that he has been deceived.' I replied, 'This man murdered his guest, Safdar 'Alî Khân, his paternal uncle's son and his wife's brother, in his sleep at night, forgetting the greatness he had obtained by him. How can we expect him to keep his word? Will God help him? He did not trust you but deceived you, for he trusts no one.'—'You are right,' the Governor said, 'had I known all this before, I would not have sent troops. But it does not matter. He will certainly lose his fort.'

[1] *i.e.*, Murtazâ 'Alî Khân.

He then asked about Bhâji Râo. I said, 'News has reached Arcot, and been written to me that Bhâji Râo with 50,000 or 60,000 horse has crossed the Kistna and reached Sâvanûr and Bankâpuram. Our Muzaffar Khân, who was in the service of Bhâji Râo's son, has now joined Morâri Râo and is preparing to attack Bhâji Râo's son. Târâ Bai, wife of Râjârâm Kshêtrapati of Satâra, sent word to Morâri Râo and also wrote to him that she would send 30,000 horse and 30 or 40 lakhs of money, if he would seize the Nânâ by treachery in battle. He replied asking for the despatch of the troops. He is thus ready for war, and the Nânâ's troops are only three leagues distant from his. Salabat Jang who is halting at Gulbarga, means to enter the Carnatic and secure Coja Nâmat-ul-lah Khân's treasure.' The Governor remarked that all these were signs of disturbance. I replied that no one could avoid what was destined to happen, for had there not been troubles about Vellore and Madurantakam even when there was a truce between the English and the French? The Governor smiling said that the English were always ready for war.

Then, having reported to the Governor the preparations for war at Madras and Fort St. David, I showed him the 94 *manjâdis* of lead brought as a sample by the son of Narasappa

Nâyakkan of Madras. The Governor told me to settle it as I pleased.

Then I told the Governor that a dress of honour had been brought for him from Muzaffar Khân, but he said that he would not accept it until Husain the mahout's affair had been settled. So I took leave and came home.

Sunday, February 29.[1]—I hear that the English troops at Vellore who were withdrawn when terms were settled, and when our French troops were encamped at Bâlu Chetti's Choultry beyond Fattehpêttai, now declare that, unless the killedar pays, they will return to the attack. Help is therefore being sent from here to Vellore. The distance between Vellore and Kannambâdi, where the English troops are encamped, is about seven miles, and it is said that the English have begun to march.

[1] *21st Mâsi, Yuva.*

MARCH 1756.

Tuesday, March 2.[1]—I did not go out this morning, nor did I hear any important news.

Gôvinda Râo, the news-writer at Muhammad 'Alî Khân's camp at Arcot, writes as follows :—The Shâh Zâda, son of the Pâdshâh has marched to Agra from Delhi with a large army. He intended to send an army against the killedar of Lahore, but the latter made terms, so he will not go thither but intends marching southwards.

The news about Salabat Jang is that he has made peace with Bhâji Râo, and is halting at Pâlaki Shadukôpu. Bhâji Râo crossed the Tungabhadra in order to attack Morâri Râo, and sent Sadâsiva Râo, his younger brother, towards Sâvanûr and Bankâpuram with 30,000 horse, artillery, . etc. Morâri Râo was encamped near Sâvanûr with 12,000 horse, 8,000 foot and 10,000 followers[2] with guns and munitions of war. The subahdar of Sâvanûr and Morâri Râo meant to attack Bhâji Râo with 4,000 horse and 8,000 soldiers ; but Bhâji Râo having learnt of this, advanced from Bâgûr fort with his army, accompanied by his younger brother, to attack Morâri Râo. A hot contest ensued in

[1] *23rd Mâsi, Yuva.*

[2] *Sthômam*, literally 'army.'

which many perished on either side. Bhâji Râo is besieging Sâvanûr which is garrisoned by Morâri Râo's forces. Rice cannot be had in Morâri Râo's camp even at three seers a rupee, so that he is in great straits. Bhâji Râo has sent word to the killedar of Sâvanûr that, unless he delivers up Morâri Râo and his sardârs, he will destroy the killa. This is the news and it is not known what will happen.

'Abd-ul-majîd Khân of Cuddapah is said to be besieging Uskôttai fort with 6,000 horse. The sepoys in the fort sent word offering to surrender the fort if 'Abd-ul-majîd Khân would pay their arrears. 'Abd-ul-majîd Khân did not agree, so the fort has not yet been taken.

The Arcot news is that when Killpatrick was before Vellore killa with 700 military, and 2,000 sepoys under the command of Saiyid Yûsuf, reinforced by 1,000 horse under the command of Muhammad Abrâr (Muhammad 'Alî Khân's paymaster), Muhammad 'Alî Khân sent word to Murtazâ 'Alî Khân, killedar of Vellore, demanding four lakhs of rupees. The latter replied that he had not even a cash, and sent a vakîl to Madras. Thereon Mr. Pigot, the Governor of Madras, sent Mr. Orme as commander, who after conferring with Muhammad 'Alî Khân at Arcot, went to Vellore where he had an

interview with Murtazâ 'Alî Khân in the fort, and then returned with presents consisting of a dress of honour, a horse, etc., worth about 2,000 rupees. Mr. Orme showed the presents to the Governor of Madras and reported his news. The Governor then wrote to Killpatrick to withdraw his troops to Arcot. The Vellore affair has been settled at Madras; the amount agreed on is unknown, but it is said to be two lakhs or a lakh and a half. It is written that due enquiries will be made.

Wednesday, March 3.[1]—The following news has been received to-day from Muhammad [Tav]akkal's son:—As the French reinforcements have reached Vellore to help the killedar, and as the French have written to Madras, the troops that were attacking Vellore have marched to Arcot. Muhammad 'Alî Khân has taken possession of the Vellore jaghir villages near Arcot, as the killedar of Vellore has paid no money, on the strength of French support, and Barakkat-ul-lah Khân has been appointed to occupy the Tuttipattu and Agaram pargannahs. On learning this, Murtazâ 'Alî Khân sent 2,000 [horse] men and some foot to guard the two pargannahs. It is not known what will happen.

[1] *24th Mâsi, Yuva.*

Bhâji Râo is besieging the fort of Sâvanûr, and Morâri Râo's troops are in great straits. News is said to have been received at Arcot that he[1] will come to these parts shortly after settling affairs there.

Sunday, March 7.[2]—M. Guillard sent me word this evening, by my man Chidambara Mudali that M. Leyrit, the Governor, had sharply complained of my not having visited him at the Fort for the last fortnight on the plea of ill-health, so that I must no longer stay away but visit him and attend to business. I sent word back saying that I would visit the Governor on Wednesday. The reason for my not going is that small people who do not deserve admission upstairs go freely to the Governor and tell him what they please, and the Governor talks to them about secret affairs while I wait outside. I cannot endure this; so I have not cared to visit him but have stayed at home on the excuse of sickness. Many reasons may be given for this, and I will write them in a month's time.

Tuesday, March 9.[3]—The Governor sent a peon for me this morning, but I only sent Appâvu. The Governor told him that the Governor of Fort St. David had written saying

[1] *i.e.*, Bhâji Râo. [2] *28th Mâsi, Yuva.* [3] *30th Mâsi, Yuva.*

that the water of the river near the village of Pâlûr, in the Tiruviti country, irrigating the Tiruvêndipuram village, had been diverted by the people of the Tiruviti country, and asking why that had been done contrary to custom. Appâvu replied that formerly the Tiruvêndipuram and Tiruviti countries had been under the management of the same amaldâr, so that the latter had done as he pleased, but as the Tiruvêndipuram country belonged to the English, there was no reason why the water should be allowed to pass thither ; that our people would not have acted unjustly ; that as the Governor had mentioned the matter, he (Appâvu) would write to the amaldâr of Tiruviti asking him to report what had taken place and to ascertain the old custom. He added that I would speak to him to-morrow and explain everything. Thereon the Governor told Appâvu to write and get a reply at once.

Appâvu also said the Governor had told him that the Governor of Fort St. David had written complaining of robbers having stolen seven pieces out of certain parcels of cloth that had been left for the night at Tiruviti on its way from Udaiyârpâlaiyam, and that the Governor had asked him whether I had enquired into the matter as ordered. He replied that I would relate the matter to him to-morrow.

Thursday, March 11.[1]—I paid my respects to M. Leyrit, the Governor, when he was with the officers, etc., in the great northern hall that runs east and west. He went into his room after talking with the officers.

Then he gave 400 pagodas in money, two pieces of scarlet broad-cloth, two rolls of silk, a double-barrelled gun and two pistols to Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân, the *gurz-bar-dâr*,[2] who left Salabat Jang on November 4, bringing the title of Azîm-ud-daulah Bahâdûr, the *turra* set with precious stones, a *sarpêch* and other jewels and a laced dress of honour. He also gave him answers to the letters from Salabat Jang, Shâh Nawâz Khân, Haidar Jang, M. Bussy and others, and so gave him leave. He accordingly departed. Before this, the Governor had consulted M. Delarche about the presents to be given. After Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân had taken leave, M. Delarche also went away. The Governor talked for two hours about the money owed by Hasan-ud-dîn Khân to Husain, the mahout (Muzaffar Khân's son), and on seeing proofs under the hand of Chandâ Sâhib and other accounts, he ordered him to be imprisoned in the clock-tower in the Fort. It was then past eleven, so I went to my office in the flower-garden and thence came home.

[1] *2nd Panguni, Yuva.*

[2] See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Goorzeburdar.

Saturday, March 13.[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning, the Governor said, 'The kâzi of Chidambaram enjoys the produce of 114 cawnies of land, besides the revenues of the mosque. M. Nouël, the notary, showed me a French writing written in the time of M. Dupleix when M. du Rocher was at Chidambaram about the endowment; you must not interfere with it, as I understand you are doing.' Then M. Nouël, and the faqîr from Chidambaram came, and, when they had had their say, I observed, 'When we took possession of the revenues of the country, it was registered in the name of M. du Rocher. But under Pâpayya Pillai it was not allowed, nor under writer Ranga Pillai who had charge for a little time. When I took the lease for five years, I declared plainly that these things could not be allowed, as may be seen from my agreement.' But to all my just reasons, he only replied, 'Why all this talk? It must be given.' I said that I would obey his orders, but that it must be entered in the Company's accounts and deducted from the rent. The Governor said that 'Abd-ul-majîd Khân, Nawâb of Cuddapah, had written to him about it, as 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân and others of his family had been buried in the *masjid*. 'If that is the

[1] *4th Panguni, Yuva.*

case,' I replied, 'it must be deducted from the rent.'—'That will not do,' the Governor replied angrily; 'you must allow it.' I did not care to persist at the time, so I told the faqîr to come to my house, and took leave. The notary and the faqîr departed.

The Governor then asked me if the Chettis of Vikravândi had really built a temple here. I replied, 'When the people here can hardly maintain the existing temples, how can they have built a new one? A few of the Chettis' houses inhabited by mendicants,[1] may have fallen down and been repaired; but that is all; there is no temple being built.' But the Governor repeated that a temple had really been built, and told me to make enquiries. I replied, 'I will do so, as you tell me to; but what I have said must be true. I am sure a new temple cannot have been built, for that is a special thing. Should not I know of it?' But in spite of my words, he still told me to enquire, so I agreed.

Then he asked me about the Chettis. I said that the Chettis, smiths, and carpenters, etc., belonged to the left-hand castes. 'What do you mean by left-hand castes?' he asked. I showed him my two hands, saying, 'Chettis,

[1] The word used is *Pandâram* which means Saivite mendicants.

Kammâlas,[1] Kollars,[2] Chucklers and others form the left-hand castes; while Kômuttis and others form the right-hand; Brâhmans and Idaiyans belong to neither.'—'Why are Idaiyans outside this division?' the Governor asked. 'That is,' I said, 'because God was born in the form of a man in an Idaiyan's house.[3] They are neutral by reason of that great event.' After talking thus for about an hour, I took leave and came home.

Friday, March 19.[4]—According to my horoscope Jupiter is in the twelfth house; people say that the Company's new merchants will be removed and the old merchants restored, and that trade will flourish on a large scale. They also say that Appâji Pandit, and his younger brother Krishnâji Pandit (Vittal Pandit's sons) are arranging through M. d' Auteuil to remove Venkatâchala Reddi, the present poligar of Turaiyûr and re-appoint Pâpu Reddi.

I hear that Murtazâ 'Alî Khân of Vellore formerly wrote (when the English attacked his fort) that, if help were sent him, he would pay the Governor a lakh of rupees besides 50,000 rupees to the Company, and

[1] Artisans. See Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, Vol. III, p. 106.

[2] See Thurston, *op. cit.* III, 305.

[3] An allusion to Srî Krishna's having been brought up as a shepherd. The Diarist himself belonged to the Idaiyan caste.

[4] *10th Panguni, Yuva.*

sums for M. Delarche and others. Now 25,000 rupees have been sent to M. Delarche by Razâ Sâhib and 'Alî Naqî Sâhib on account of the Company, and 5,000 rupees for M. Delarche himself, and the balance is being sent.

Sunday, March 21.[1]—Muhammad [Tav]akkal's son has written a letter from Arcot received to-day saying that Muhammad 'Alî Khân has been sending the newly entertained horse and foot to Madura and Tinnevelly ; the 400 of Muhammad 'Alî Khân's foot sent to take possession of Vellore Murtazâ 'Alî Khân's jaghirs of Pâdavêdu and Mûlakkâdu, attacked the latter's troops, and a few fell on either side. Muhammad 'Alî Khân intends to send more men to take possession of Murtazâ 'Alî Khân's jaghir but the matter is not yet settled and the disturbances continue.

The news from Madras is that Mr. Clive, who landed at Bombay on his return from home, has captured two fortresses [2] there, with about five lakhs of rupees plunder ; on receipt of this news at Arcot, 60 guns were fired by the fort and the army, as a token of joy. Bhâji Râo's troops are still at Sâvanûr ; Salabat Jang and he have not visited each other, and it is not known when they will do so, or

[1] *12th Panguni, Yuva.*

[2] The capture of Gheriah is meant.

whither the armies will march. I have recorded what has been written.

The Governor sent for me a second time, as M. Maurice was complaining to the Governor that he had not received the 11,000 rupees due to him. When the Governor asked me about it, I replied, 'I have sent for 'Abu Muhammad Khân and Gurumûrti Ayyan to speak about the affair; but they are at Villupuram. They will arrive in two days, when I will examine the accounts and settle the matter.' The Governor told me to settle it without delay. I replied that, if the accounts were examined, a balance would be found due to me and not to them, and that he might satisfy himself by seeing the accounts. M. Maurice then took leave.

The Governor then showed me two petitions from the ryots of the Bhuvanagiri country and asked me about them. I replied, 'They took a lease of four or five villages from my lessee. As the rent this year was more than last year's, I promised them their share according to custom; but when I told them to pay the amount due according to the terms of the lease, they plundered the heaps of grain by night, prevented people from harvesting and caused other troubles; then they fled to the English village of Tiruvêndipuram. When they began to plunder the revenues that were being

brought to head-quarters, and caused troubles, I posted guards to save the remainder from being plundered. Afterwards from Tiruvêndipuram they opened negotiations with the gentlemen and councillors; the latter afforded them shelter, brought them here, and presented their petitions to you. If you believe them, what can I say? I can only prosper if such traitors to the Company are cut into small pieces or suitably punished. They not only deceived the Company, but took refuge in the country of our enemies, the English; and they came here without fearing the punishment that should have awaited them; instead of punishing them, the gentlemen here have protected them, and you approve. So what can I do?' The Governor replied, 'But I hear that you have been imprisoning the ryots. What power have you to do so?'—'That is a fine question!' I answered. 'Ever since the French Company was founded, the Governor, the Second, and the Company's courtier have imprisoned and released men. How can I manage the country if I cannot even do that? When I asked M. Godeheu about it, he said plainly that I could always do what was done in the days of the Muhammadans, and this was even written in my lease. It will all be clear if you will but enquire how the country was managed during the time of M. Dupleix.'

When I talked thus roundly to him, he said I could do as I pleased, and added, 'I did not allow the Europeans to continue as sureties as I knew that they would interfere with you; I allowed you to do as you pleased, and I tell you so again. I have a petition here from Uganthâchi Pillai, see what it is.' I replied, 'He took a lease of Tîrtanagari country for 14,000 rupees; and though the rents were raised this year, he was allowed to pay the rent stated in his lease, but told that he could not enjoy the customary share and other privileges. But instead of listening to me, he has secured the help of some gentlemen here, and is acting thus. But if these things are done, how can I pay? You may give the country to whomsoever you please.' To these plain words, he answered as before.

M. Leyrit, the Governor, asked about his own business, saying that I had forgotten all about it and showed me the pendant sent by the Nawâb of Cuddapah. I examined it. There was an emerald in the middle inscribed with a verse from the Qurân. I said that such jewels were generally worn on the arm and that the emerald was only worth about 30 pagodas. He then showed me the two or three diamonds he had in his hand. When I had examined and valued them, he said, with extreme politeness, 'You have forgotten me.

Please get me some of the diamonds brought from Madras.' I replied suitably, and, having taken leave, went to my office in the flower-garden, and thence came home.

Tuesday, March 23.[1]—At half-past seven this morning, I went to the Fort and paid my respects to M. Leyrit, the Governor. He returned my compliments. He attended (with me and the Company's merchants) the sale of China goods in the sorting-godown. Then he went upstairs.

Afterwards I was again sent for. He said, 'I hear that you are forcing people to pay you an amount equal to what you gave M. Godeheu and M. Barthélemy. The amaldârs are giving written accounts to the Europeans about the money you are thus trying to collect. Can you do that?' I replied, 'Even a beast would not do such a thing; so would any man do so? If you ask me whether such things are now being done, my reply is that a man of good family and born to wealth values honour more, and does not stoop to such meanness. There are mean men among all classes whose deeds bring dishonour on others; but the great behave otherwise. So is it with my family. If any member of my family did what none of his predecessors have ever done, surely he would be stabbed by one of his own relations.

[1] *14th Panguni, Yuva.*

If you can produce evidence and proof of my imposing taxes, there will be no need to punish me, for you will see how I shall punish myself. M. du Bausset, M. Delarche and M. Moracin have joined together for the last month to bring heavy but unfounded charges against me to make you distrust me. But as I am blameless, and have done no such things, I have suffered them to do as they please. I need not fear unless I am guilty; so I did nothing; a thousand and one times they have accused me before, but with what result? Thinking that nothing could come of this, I did nothing, and shall do nothing. In this world the guilty are ever fearful; but the innocent are at ease.'

He then said, 'I hear that you are secretly helping Muhammad 'Alî Khân with news from here. Why do you do that?' I replied that I could only repeat what I had said before, adding, 'In M. Dupleix' time, Madame Dupleix, Pâpayya Pillai, and some of those who still attack me were always telling him stories about me; but he knew me too well and had even questioned me half a dozen times, but found nothing against me; so their faces were blackened. These people still did not keep quiet, but again complained. But he did not heed them and threatened them more than once that he would punish them if they

persisted. As these attempts failed, they then tried another plan. They said that I had made dolls to represent M. Dupleix and his wife in order to kill them by sorcery. His wife herself said so; but he declared that I could never do such a thing, and sent them away. I thought that this could not happen again, but evidently it is being repeated.' He made no answer to this, but said that the Bhuvanagiri ryots were again troubling him when he went out. I replied that I had already told him about it. But he repeated the story that I was collecting money unjustly and that I must not do so. I replied, 'They have complained to you before. Tell them to give me a lakh of rupees annually, and I will keep an account of the receipts and charges. Please do that.' To this plain speech of mine, he said that he could not decide without orders from Europe.

He then said, 'I understand that Periyanna Mudali enjoyed Cheyyûr as a shrotriem village, for which he has Chandâ Sâhib's parwâna bearing his seal.' And he showed me the parwâna and a French petition. I replied, 'I cannot say whether this is the fact or whether this is new or old. But although this also has been included in my lease, I will allow him the village if he will give a receipt for the rent.' He asked if Cheyyûr

was mentioned in my lease. 'It is,' I replied, 'as you may see.' Thereon the Governor showed me the petition which said that Pâpayya Pillai had been allowed 60 *per cent.* of the *vâram* on wet land and dry land at 30 fanams the 100 *kulis*,[1] for which he understood Pâpayya Pillai had a writing from M. Dupleix. He asked why that was not done now. I replied, 'When he managed the country, he did as he pleased. But now the country has been rented out and the renter must allow *vâram* to the cultivator. As they spoke to me about it, I gave an order, and I will give another now.' When I was thus speaking, M. Delarche came, and the Governor gave me leave. So I went to the auction-place, expecting to be called back. I waited there till half-past eleven when I went to my office in the flower-garden.

Thursday, March 25.[2]—As the army which had marched to Chêtpattu returned without marching further and is now halted at Kâttumêttu, and as M. Goupil wished to entertain the Governor and others, the Governor and other Europeans, Chandâ Sâhib's son, 'Alî Naqî and others, went to Pirambai where they feasted and returned at eleven o'clock tonight.

[1] 1 *kuli* = 144 square feet.

[2] *16th Panguni, Yuva.*

[*Sunday*], *March 28.*[1]—The army encamped at Kâttumêttu returned to the Fort to-day.

Tuesday, March 30.[2]—This morning, I did not go out as I was sick.

Muhammad [Tav]akkal's son has written the following news from Arcot:—'Seven messengers have come from Salabat Jang and Bhâji Râo in the north with a letter for Muhammad 'Alî Khân. It says:—"We are marching towards [your] parts; the Pathans and others have duly visited us; if you are our man, visit us in like manner; if you wish to fight, make ready for battle; otherwise deliver up our country in your possession, and go whither you please. Choose one of these three courses and write to us." Bhâji Râo and Salabat Jang are together and have been visited by Muzaffar Khân and Morâri Râo, from Sâvanûr. The Sâvanûr affair has been settled and Bhâji Râo's and Salabat Jang's armies have marched together two stages towards Mysore. The Pathans of Cuddapah and other places are alarmed and about to visit them. On learning this, Muhammad 'Alî Khân became troubled and resolved to send Fatteh 'Alî Khân and Muhammad Asalam Khân with a reply to Salabat Jang and Bhâji Râo, and to discuss matters with them.'

[1] *19th Panguni* [*Yuva*].

[2] *21st Panguni, Yuva.*

The news from Tinnevelly is as follows :— Mudâmiah, 'Alam Khân's son-in-law, joined the poligars there and conquered half of the Tinnevelly country. This led to a fight between Mahfuz Khân and 'Alam Khân, but the first could not stand against his enemy and retreated to Madura. On learning this news, Muhammad 'Alî Khân fell into great anxiety and is daily recruiting or sending reinforcements of cavalry and infantry.

The Arcot news is as follows :—Mr. Maskelyne[1] took Muhammad 'Alî Khân onto the walls of the Arcot fort, having prepared 2,000 soldiers in two divisions drawn up as if for battle. These he made to fight for about three hours, thus showing the European skill in war. In the fight, three soldiers were killed. Muhammad 'Alî Khân was astonished to witness all this and gave 5,000 rupees as a present to Mr. Maskelyne.

The Vellore news is as follows :—Vellore affairs are in the same condition and have not yet been settled. Muhammad 'Alî Khân is sending people to take possession of the villages belonging to Vellore. The killedar of Vellore has written to Bhâji Râo for the 10,000 horse whom he promised to send to his help, in

[1] Ranga Pillai writes "Menchor," but he must mean Maskelyne who was in command of the Arcot garrison.

return for their daily pay. It is not known when they will come.

As the Angrias seized the English ships at Goa, Bombay and those parts last year, Mr. Clive who has arrived from Europe in a man-of-war with great supplies, has attacked the Angria Marathas, captured two forts, and seized lakhs of treasure. On the receipt of this news at Madras, salutes were fired as a sign of victory, and a festival was held. A salute of 21 guns was also fired at the fort of Arcot and there was also a festival.

APRIL 1756.

Monday, April 5.[1]—As the Governor is to leave for Gingee to-morrow morning, he yesterday ordered that elephants with silver howdahs, horses, flags, standards, lances, pipers, drummers and other musical performers, with the naubat, etc., should be got ready for his inspection; so at four o'clock this evening, all were made ready and shown to the Governor by Appâvu. Having inspected everything, the Governor ordered them to be despatched to Valudâvûr immediately, as he would set out to-morrow morning. I therefore took leave and despatched them all to Valudâvûr. As I am also to accompany the Governor to-morrow to Gingee, I gave a written order to Appâvu to manage affairs here.

Tuesday, April 6.[2]—This morning the Governor set out to inspect Gingee, and I accompanied him. I will write the names of the others who accompanied him when I have learnt them. He intends to halt at Valudâvûr in the afternoon and I will write later on what happens.

M. Leyrit the Governor, M. Lenoir the councillor, M. d' Auteuil, M. Aumont, M. Chevreau, M. Mauricet and others, including

[1] *27th Panguni, Yuva.*

[2] *28th Panguni, Yuva.*

myself, set out for Valudâvûr this morning on our way to Gingee. On reaching Valudâvûr in the afternoon, we were welcomed with dancers and conducted to the fort. On our entrance, a salute of 21 guns was fired, as well as the same number at dinner and when toasts were given. As it is M. Dupleix' jaghir, no presents were given, nor money spent except on the feast; and everything else was carried thither from this place.[1] After dinner, the elephants, horses, howdahs, and dancing-people were ordered on to Pâdirâppuliyûr, as the Governor designed to proceed thither to-night. He left Valudâvûr at five o'clock in the evening; and on the way, Muttu Mallâ Reddi and others welcomed us with dancing-people and conducted us to a tent. Muttu Mallâ Reddi presented the Governor with a nazar of 500 rupees and me with 100 rupees. Sheep, fowls,[2] pigs and fruit were ready for supper, which was very sumptuous. A letter was written to the commandant of Gingee saying that the Governor would arrive to-morrow afternoon. I also wrote to Nârâyana Sâstri, amaldâr of Gingee, to have all things ready, and passed the night at Pâdirâppuliyûr.

Wednesday, April 7.[3]—We left Pâdirâppuliyûr this morning at nine, and, reaching

[1] *i.e.*, Pondichery. [2] Reading *kôli* for *kôdu*.
[3] *29th Panguni, Yuva.*

Marudûr *mantapam* in three hours, we halted at the pandal erected there. Âdivîrarâghava Mudali, the manager of the place, not only provided fruit but also presented a nazar of 500 rupees. Twenty-one cannon were fired that had been brought there, and thus our reception was magnificent. But instead of halting in the pandal erected in the palmyrah tope called Jayankondân, this side of Gingee, the Governor proceeded to Gingee, being welcomed on his way by commandant Legris and others, my amaldâr Nârâyana Sâstri and men of every class, with dancing-people. When we entered the fort under the heat of the mid-day sun, a salute of 21 guns was fired. M. Leyrit, the Governor, went first; as M. Lenoir's palankin-boys were exhausted by their two days' hard journey, M. Lenoir excused the slowness of their pace; but M. Lasette [?] impatient at his boys' pace, pierced one of them a finger's depth in the loins. At once all the others loosed their hair and beat their mouths, weeping. One approached M. Lasette crying, 'How dare you do that?' M. Lasette made to strike him also, but, missing his aim, cut off his ear. Though the Governor witnessed all this, he did nothing, but proceeded to the lodgings prepared by the commandant with his retinue of Europeans, music and dancing-people, the naubat and the other marks of honour. I

accompanied him, and, having taken leave of him at his lodgings, went to the office that had been made ready opposite the house of Swâmi Sâstri (Ayyan Sâstri's elder brother) with a large following and other marks of honour.

My amaldâr with his people visited me with nazars. After giving *pân supârî* to all, I went to Swâmi Sâstri's house, where I was entertained at a feast at noon, and, at two o'clock, when it was over, I went to take my ease at my lodgings.

This evening, the Râjagadi, Krishnagadi and Chennagiri forts and the circumference of the Chettikulam were illuminated; the pandal was decorated and arrangements were made for the Governor's feast to-night. Before going thither, the Governor and others drove out at five o'clock and watched the fireworks till seven, when they went to the Chettikulam. Thence they watched with great pleasure the fireworks on the Râjagadi fort, and at last sat down to table, when three salutes of 21 guns were fired from three different places. I was with him all this time, but then took leave, and going to my lodging was present till two o'clock at an entertainment of actors, etc., and took supper at Swâmi Sâstri's house.

Thursday, April 8.[1]—At six o'clock this morning, M. Leyrit, the Governor set out to see

[1] *30th Panguni, Yuva.*

all the curiosities of the Râjagadi fort, and returned at half-past seven. Afterwards the Sâstri, my amaldâr, visited his quarters and presented him with 500 pagodas. Various others whom I introduced presented him with 200 rupees ; the sepoys, their commandant and Rânôji presented 75 pagodas, and others gave pieces of cloth according to their position. All then took leave of the Governor, and accompanied me with music and dancing-people to my lodgings where they took leave and departed.

I arranged for twice as many fireworks to be lit on the forts to-night.

Saturday, April 10.[1]—We set out from Gingee this morning and halted at the pandal erected near the choultry on the Villupuram road, where we ate some fruit, etc. At Villupuram we were met by amaldâr Nârâyana Pillai with dancing-people and conducted to the place which had been prepared. Here Nârâyana Pillai offered a nazar of 321 pagodas. Fireworks had been made ready for display at night. We watched them, and passed the night there.

Sunday, April 11.[2]—We set out from Villupuram this morning for Tiruviti and Panruti On nearing Tiruviti, we were received by the

[1] *2nd Chittirai, Dhâthu.*

[2] *3rd Chittirai, Dhâthu.*

commandant, the amaldâr Chiranjîvi Chidambaranâtha Pillai and others with dancing-people and conducted to the lodging provided for us under a salute of 21 guns. Chidambaranâtha Pillai gave a nazar of 500 pagodas. After the mid-day feast another salute of 21 guns was fired. I went to my lodging where I feasted and took my ease. This night we witnessed the fireworks and slept there.

Wednesday, April 14.[1]—As I have been suffering from dysentery since yesterday, I did not go out but told Appâvu to go. He visited the Governor, and paid him his respects. When he returned to me, he told me that the Governor had repeated what he had said yesterday, that paddy and coolies must be procured at once, as he was making ready for war, and ordered that the carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, etc., in the town must work for the Company and for no one else. He also told me that the Governor was hastening the construction of a battery outside the north gate.

I hear M. Bussy has written saying that festivities should be held to celebrate the birth of a son to Salabat Jang. A letter about this has also been received from Salabat Jang.

[1] *6th Chittirai, Dhâthu.*

Sunday, April 18.[1]—To-day being the 10th of Chittirai, during Chaturthi[2] which lasted until ten at night, the constellation being Kêttai 51¾, Variyanâmayôga 15$\frac{7}{15}$, Bâlavâkarana 12½, Dhivi after 9⅜, between half-past seven and eight in the evening in the Vrischikalagna, Mahârâja Râjasrî Mangathâyi Ammâl,[3] the equal of Lakshmi, reached Lakshmi's fragrant feet. The position of the planets was as follows :—the Moon in the third quarter of Aswini; Mars in the fourth quarter of Punarvasu; Mercury in the first quarter of Rêvati; Jupiter in the first quarter of Chittirai; Venus in the fourth quarter of Rôhini; Saturn in the second quarter of Tiruvônam; Râhu in the third quarter of Pûram, and Kêtu in the first quarter of Pûrattâdi.

Monday, April 19.[4]—This being the day for burning the corpse, Panchami was 33½, constellation Mûlam 47¾, Parighanâmayôga 7¾, Kaulavâkarana 6½, and Tyâjyam began at eleven o'clock to-night. At half-past eight this morning, the dead-body was carried, in a befitting palankin, accompanied by the naubat and music, guns, crackers with their stands, horns, and torches. The townspeople followed the corpse, and cloths were spread before it

[1] *10th Chittirai. Dhâthu.*
[2] See Diwân Bahâdûr Swâmikannu Pillai's *Indian Chronology*, p. 47.
[3] The Diarist's wife.
[4] *11th Chittirai, Dhâthu.*

on the ground; turmeric, saffron and other fragrant powders and flowers were sprinkled, and frankincense and other perfumes were burnt. Thus the way was made sweet. When the corpse passed the west gate, Mahârâja Râjasrî the Governor M. Leyrit Avargal who had learnt the news of the death, ordered the drums to be beaten, the guard to turn out and other marks of honour to be shown. About ten o'clock the corpse reached the great garden acquired by Mahârâja Râjasrî Periya Pillai[1] Avargal, and placed on a sandalwood pyre amid the *tulsi* plants south of the foot-path. The pyre was kindled to the sound of musical instruments, at about eleven o'clock. Mahârâja Râjasrî Annâswâmi carried *Dharbha*[2] in his hand, and Mahârâja Râjasrî Appâvu performed every ceremony without omission. All said that the crowd was as large as at the Conjeeveram Garuda[3] festival in the month of Vaigâsi,[4] and that the departed was spoken of as a jewel of chastity, whose good fortune and virtue had obtained glory from the Himâlayas to Râmêsvaram. Thus gloriously she reached the lotus feet of Nârâyana in His heavenly abode.

[1] The Diarist's father.
[2] A sacrificial grass used in Hindu worship.
[3] *Garuda* is the kite sacred to Vishnu.
[4] *Vaigâsi* is the month running from mid-May to mid-June.

Thursday, April 22.[1]—Two chobdars, Madanânda Pandit, Vinâyaka Pillai and other officials of the Company came to me at nine o'clock this morning to say that the Governor, M. Leyrit wanted me, Chiranjîvi Annâswâmi, Chiranjîvi Appâvu, etc. So I took them to the Governor who was in the central hall of the *Gouvernement* with the councillors and officers. He received me with the same respect as he shows to gentlemen his equals. Wearing his hat and sword, and with his cane in his hand, he advanced to the door to receive me, brought me in, condoled with me on my wife's death, and said he hoped that my family would continue to live prosperously though God had cast on me the burden of its management. I thanked him. Then he himself sprinkled rosewater, put round my neck a six-stringed necklace with a pendant set with diamonds round a ruby centre, and gave me a richly laced dress of honour. Chiranjîvi Annâswâmi was also given a dress of honour; and Chiranjîvi Appâvu and Ayyâswâmi a laced dress of honour each. In addition to this, Chiranjîvi Annâswâmi was given a fourteen-stringed necklace under a salute of 15 guns. The Governor then called the Nayinâr, and told him to set Chiranjîvi Annâswâmi on an

[1] *14th Chittirai, Dhâthu.*

elephant with a silver howdah, accompanied by the naubat and other musical instruments, standards, and other marks of honour, and conduct him to his house. The Nayinâr, having taken leave, came out. Then Annâswâmi riding on an elephant with a silver howdah, and accompanied by music, visited the house of M. Barthélemy the Second, where he received presents, and then returned home and attended the nautch. When all had given nazars to Annâswâmi, they were given *pân supârî* and allowed to depart.

Friday, April 23.[1]—At half-past seven this morning, I went to the Fort. As it was the feast of St. George, M. Leyrit the Governor's name-day, the Company's merchants and the mint-people had been told last night to bring nazars. So all came and I took them upstairs. All the soldiers in the Fort were drawn up; and M. Leyrit, the Governor, the Second M. Barthélemy, and the other councillors, M. d'Auteuil the Major-General and the other officers, Madame Barthélemy and other ladies, set out to attend Mass at the Fort church. Salutes were fired thrice—at the beginning, middle and end of the Mass—21 guns being fired by the Fort and a like number by the ships according to custom. When three

[1] *15th Chittirai, Dhâthu.*

salutes had been fired, and the Governor left the Church, all the officers saluted him as usual. Afterwards, the Governor went upstairs with the councillors, officers, and ladies, etc., already mentioned. When again all paid their respects to him, I, the Company's merchants and others paid our respects to him with bouquets of jasmine. He returned his compliments. I made Appâvu present him with a nazar of 500 Porto Novo pagodas for the country management. The Company's merchants asked me for some and I gave them 500 Porto Novo pagodas, which they offered as their nazar. The mint-people as usual brought a chain weighing 21 pagodas which they were to exchange for 2,000 rupees. Bâlâji Pandit, the Turaiyûr vakîl gave a nazar of 21 pagodas. Then they sat down to table. Three salutes of 21 guns each were fired when healths were drunk, the ships firing like salutes. Then all were dismissed. I also took leave, when I had sent the merchants and mint-people home.

After I had come away, Chandâ Sâhib's son Razâ Sâhib was presented to the Governor by M. Delarche, bringing a richly embroidered dress of honour, when a salute of 21 guns was fired. I hear that, when he had gone, Zuhûr Khân's son presented a dress of honour, and that afterwards all departed.

I hear that the old merchants—Râmakrishna Chetti, Ponnappa Chetti (Mâttu Chidambara Chetti's son), Daivanâyaka Chetti, Arunâchala Chetti, Alankâram (Pâpayya Pillai's son) and Naikkâra Ponnappa Chetti—and others who have been trying to obtain a new contract, intend to visit the Governor this afternoon.

About noon Vinâyaka Pillai and his elder brother Periya Parasurâma Pillai's son presented 100 and 21 pagodas, respectively, and I hear that, as they were busied with a marriage in their house, they requested the Governor to order the beach people to attend to the repairs that are going forward. I also hear that Bâpu Râo of the betel and tobacco-godown presented the Governor with 21 pagodas. Kandan (M. Leyrit's servant) and Bâpu Râo quarrelled like dogs as the latter had not supplied the other with good betel-leaves; but those present separated them.

This was told me by Vinâyaka Pillai who came to my house, and lamented my bereavement, which hindered him speaking about business; but he said that as he hoped to celebrate six marriages this year, he requested my presence at the *muhûrtam* and subsequent ceremonies. As he thus prayed me in all earnestness, I dismissed him saying that I would be present.

Monday, April 26.[1]—The Governor M. Leyrit sent for me this morning. Appâvu, who went and talked with him, returned, saying, 'M. Cornet says that all the people from the country have run away and M. Leyrit complains angrily that no paddy has been sent to the fort of Gingee, and that we have not kept our promises. I replied that you had supplied 600 coolies, and that it was not our fault if they ran away; and about the paddy affair, the commandant had caused great trouble by shutting up 2,000 coolies in the fort when the Governor was coming, so that there was neither room to store paddy nor men to harvest it or bring it in from the fields; but that after the Governor's orders, letters had been written to bring paddy to the fort and that this was being done. But in spite of all I said, the replies I received were disturbing and threatening. He complained that although orders had been given four or five days ago for the supply of reaping-hooks, hoes, and axes, they had not been supplied. I replied that no one had mentioned it to us and asked to whom the orders had been given. I was told sharply that the orders had been given to us. As the Governor passes orders as he pleases without regarding justice, I could not answer

[1] *18th Chittirai, Dhâthu.*

and so came away.' If the mere thought of war has so agitated the Governor and made him speak thus, what will he do when war really begins?

I write below the French paper about the outbreak of war between the English and French in France.

Tout se disposait à la guerre à notre départ pour France. L'armement de Brest a été suivi jusqu'au mois de May, composé d'une escadre de 10 vaisseaux de guerre de 60 à 74 pièces de canon, armés en flûtes pour le transport des troupes dans le Canada. Cette escadre est sortie sous le commandement de Mr. Macnemara, lieutenant-général, qui a rencontré au mer l'escadre anglaise de 12 vaisseaux de guerre commandée par l'amiral Bascawen, qui n'a fait aucune manœuvre pour attaquer notre escadre, parce qu'elle se sentait trop faible; quand notre escadre a été hors des parages de la croissière des Anglais, Mr. Macnemara avec 6 vaisseaux et autres frégates a quitté Mr. Bois de la Mothe, chef d'escadre, commandant les vaisseaux de transport, 4 vaisseaux de guerre, et 3 frégates; il a fait chute pour aller faire son debarquement au Canada.

Sur le baie de Terre Neuve, l'escadre a été séparée par la brume et le mauvais temps, ce qui a fait que 2 de nos vaisseaux du Roi, le *Lys* et l'*Alcide* ont été attaqués par des

vaisseaux de l'escadre de Bascawen, qui avait poursuivi la nôtre, se doutant du projet attendu que les troupes de debarquement la gardait les vaisseaux[1] l'*Alcide* [qui] était armé en flûte et le *Lys* commandé par Mr. [Lorgeril] armé en guerre, qui s'est très bien deffendu contre 12 vaisseaux ; il a eu 60 hommes de tués, plusieurs officiers de marine et de troupes—entre autres Mr. de Barlaing, Major-Général des troupes de debarquement. Ce vaisseau a été conduit à Chiboutue et les officiers ont été parfaitement traités des Anglais. On n'avait point encore des nouvelles des vaisseaux. L'*Alcide* l'on a rapporté que les prisonniers qui s'étaient embarqués sur les vaisseaux Anglais ont pris corps et bien sur un banc de roche dans ce combat. Le *Dauphin Royal* s'est sauvé à la faveur de la brume. Mr. Macnemara est rentré à Brest avec son escadre. Il s'est trouvé si malade de la goutte qu'il a été hors d'état de la commander pour ressortir. Mr. Du Guay l'a remplacé. Il est sorti de Brest pour aller à Cadix où il a resté jusqu'à mois d'août qu'il est sorti pour rejoindre Mr. Bois de la Mothe qui etait bloqué par l'escadre de Bascawen à lui porter des secours de canon et de munitions qu'il avait pris à Cadix et avec lesquels il a fait armer en

[1] The passage is corrupt.

guerre les vaisseaux de transport pour faire escale à Brest, attendu que l'Angleterre avait 2 escadres prêtes à faire voile.

Les nouvelles des premiers jours de Septembre nous ont appris que Mr. Du Guay a rencontré une escadre de 10 vaisseaux qui lui a livré combat et qui a été très violent. Les Anglais ont été tres maltraités. Ils ont eu 2 vaisseaux coulés de fond et un de pris, Le restant de l'escadre a pris la fuite. Quelques uns de nos vaisseaux démolés et tres maltraités.

Suivant les nouvelles de Canada nos troupes y font des merveilles, et Mr. Bois de la Mothe a envoyé à l'ile du Petit Nord chercher les pays que les vaisseaux de la pêche de la Mo Livé [*sic*] renvoient dans les petits batiments.

Sa M.B. le Roi d'Angleterre, dit-on, ne veut pas la guerre ; il était [.....], resident à Hanover ; mais le peuple Anglais et la Chambre de Communes la desirent infiniment. En conséquence continuent des armements comme l'onn'en a point encore vu.

Notre ambassadeur a été rappelé à la nouvelle que [.....] de la prise de nos vaisseaux en Canada.

[S.M.] a sommé les Hollandais de se déclarer pour ou contre ; il a réformé 1,600

chevaux de ses écuries et tous ses extraordinaires ; il a fait une augmentation de 5 hommes par compagnie d'infanterie.

Mr. le maréchal de Noailles a été envoyé ambassadeur extraordinaire à la cour de L'Orient [*sic*].[1] Le roi a voulu imposé le dixième dans le royaume. Mr. de Séchelles lui a représenté le tort que cela ferait dans la France, et c'est lui qui est cause de la réforme que le roi a faite ; l'on a gardé simplement les ouvriers pour la réparation des bâtiments. L'on avait commencé à faire marcher des troupes en Flandres sous le commandement de Mr. de Belleisle. Nous avons 12 vaisseaux à Brest prêts à être armés ; mais il manquait de canons, agrès et apparaux. Mr. Chaquel, commissaire et contrôleur de la Marine, a été envoyé promptement de Paris pour tacher d'accelerer cet armement. On travaillait à la reparation du port de Dunkerque. Les Hollandais a cédé à la reine d'Hongrie toutes frontières du coté de la Flandre pour se mettre à l'abri de l'attaque des Francais.[2]

Tuesday, April 27.[3]—Five or six days ago Haidar Yâr Khân arrived here with presents from Murtazâ 'Alî Khân for M. Leyrit, the

[1] Sc. Espagne.

[2] For this passage confer Lacour-Gayet, *La Marine militaire Sous... Louis XV*, pp. 254, etc.

[3] *19th Chittirai, Dhâthu.*

Governor. At ten o'clock this morning, he was presented to the Governor by M. Delarche, and a salute of 15 guns was fired. This Haidar Yâr Khân has been given victuals for these five days. The presents were as follows :—

A gold rosewater sprinkler ;
a salver for the above ;
a plate for nuts ;
a box for betel and nut ;
a *turra* ;
a pendant ;
two rich dresses of honour, and four shawls.

Formerly it was agreed that a lakh of rupees should be paid for the help of an army, and half a lakh for darbâr expenses ; but afterwards when peace was made between the English and the killedar of Vellore, the troops were recalled. These presents must be either to secure the despatch of troops to prevent a second attack on Vellore by the English, or to secure the reduction of the lakh of rupees formerly promised. I will write the facts when I have ascertained them. To-day Appâvu went to the Fort, but the only news is what is written above.

MAY 1756.

Sunday, May 2.[1]—I paid my respects to the Governor this morning, on his return from Church at eight o'clock after hearing Mass. He was upstairs with the councillors, officers, etc. M. Barthélemy, M. Moracin and others were talking with him.

Alagiyamanavâla Chetti brought *pân supâri*, plantain and other fruit, and invited the Governor to the marriages of his son and of his elder brother's son.

The Governor told me that, as the Council would sit to-morrow, the merchants must be told to come to settle the contract. I replied, 'To-morrow is the last day of my wife's funeral ceremonies, so I cannot come; the merchants too will attend the ceremony as well as other townspeople of all ranks. As many will be going in and out of the gate in palankins, on horses, elephants, &c., I beg that the officers may be ordered not to hinder them. The Governor accordingly spoke to M. d'Auteuil and M. Saubinet, and told me to tell the merchants to come on Tuesday, the day after to-morrow. I repeated this order to Alagiyamanavâla Chetti and the other Company's merchants, and dismissed them.

[1] *24th Chittirai, Dhâthu.*

I told the Governor (M. Leyrit) the following news reported by harkaras to Murtazâ 'Alî Khân of Vellore and Muhammad 'Alî Khân of Arcot, and which has been written to me from those places:—After Bâlâji Râo had left his camp, M. Bussy left that of Salabat Jang to confer with Bâlâji Râo. He said that too long had been spent in trying to capture Morâri Râo, 'Abd-ul-majîd Khân, Muzaffar Khân's Pathans and the others who were in Sâvanûr fort; and proposed to take it himself. Therefore he raised batteries and [laid siege?] to it. But when Morâri Râo, Muzaffar Khân and other Pathans sallied forth, being unable to endure longer, there was a great fight in which Morâri Râo, Muzaffar Khân and his Pathans and others lost their lives, and the Pathans kindled their houses with gunpowder in order to slay their wives, and many perished. M. Bussy has been severely wounded, but it is not known whether he is alive or dead. When I reported this, the Governor said M. Delarche had just told him that Chandâ Sâhib's son had received this news from Vellore.[1]

The Governor then asked who Paramayan was and why he had been dismissed by M. Dupleix. I replied, 'Sûrappan and Paramayan at first served under M. Petain [?]

[1] The news was apocryphal.

but were afterwards dismissed in anger. As Sûrappan had friends,[1] he was taken back into service; but as Paramayan had none, he was not.' M. Lenoir said that he might be taken back when an opportunity occurred, as he was not a bad man. The Governor said dubiously that he would see about it. As the Governor went into his room, I went to my office in the flower-garden.

I reported to the Governor this evening that the news written above about Bâlâji Râo and M. Bussy was said to be false.

Monday, May 3.[1]—As to-day was the sixteenth day since the death of Saubhâgyavathi Mangathâyi, I went at sunrise to Perumâl Nâyakkan's Choultry for the sake of the conveniences there, and duly performed all ceremonies with regal grandeur at a cost of 5,000 pagodas. This evening we auspiciously performed the ceremony of re-tying the turban. Then the townspeople and those who had come from Vêdâranyam, Vellore and Arcot in the west and from so far as Nellore in the north, the amaldârs, *nâttârs*, ryots, merchants, jemadars, lessees, etc., and others of all castes came preceded by the naubat, flags, great standards on elephants, and dancers, and offered nazars. I received them according to their rank, and

[1] *25th Chittirai, Dhâthu.*

distributed *pân supârî*. I then set out attended by my sons and relations, and men bearing torches and coloured lights. Chiranjîvi Annâswâmi and Ayyâswâmi rode in howdahs; Appâvu mounted on horseback. Kanda Pillai, Chidambaranâtha Pillai, Swâmi, etc., my nephews went in palankins; and the rest in their respective conveyances. Thus we reached the palace, where we were entertained with music and dancing. Then at ten o'clock at night, after having seen that food had been served to all according to their rank, I dismissed them. Thus the ceremonies were accomplished.

Friday, May 7.[1]—At half-past seven this morning, I visited the Governor at the Fort. While I was there, two Europeans (one an English King's officer) were received by M. Saubinet, and brought into the Fort. The troops were drawn up, the drums beat as for the Governor, and a salute of 21 guns was fired. Hearing this, the Governor asked why a salute was being fired, and sent for the master-gunner. Before he arrived, the English King's officer came. The Governor received him with respect and was still in the great hall when the master-gunner came. When the Governor questioned him, he replied that M. Saubinet had given the order. When

[1] *29th Chittirai, Dhâthu.*

M. Saubinet was sent for and questioned, he replied that the Governor had given him orders about it, and that perhaps he had forgotten. He then recollected it and saying that he was right, dismissed him. The Governor then talked with the man who had come and they took coffee in the council room. Afterwards the English gentleman took leave and went to M. d'Auteuil's. I took leave and went to my office in the flower-garden. When all sat down to table, a salute of 21 guns was fired, and as much respect was shown as is shown to the Governor himself.[1] M. Saubinet procured all this because this Englishman treated him with great respect when he visited Cuddalore.

Saturday, May 8.[2]—At half-past seven this morning, I went to the Fort and paid my respects to the Governor. He returned my compliments, and said, 'You told me that M. Bussy and Muzaffar Khân had been killed; but now that is reported to be false.' I said that it was false and that I had also heard so from Vellore.

The Governor then said, 'You know that M. Brenier and M. Véry have been sent to Srîrangam. They have written saying that on

[1] The English Officer was probably Colonel Adlercron, commanding the King's regiment sent out in 1754.

[2] *30th Chittirai, Dhâthu.*

their road by Tiruviti, they found the way covered with jungle which must be cut down to make the road passable. You must do as they desire.' I requested him not to consider my reply disrespectful, and said, 'That is not the proper road. The usual way is by Tiruvannâmalai and they have written thus because they went by this jungle-way. Moreover it would cost much to make it into a good road. I will write to people there and tell you their answer.'—'Very well,' the Governor replied.

Sunday, May 9.[1]—This evening the Governor sent for me. When I went, he asked why no coolies had come. I replied that some had come this morning and that others would arrive to-night; and I asked if the English soldier who had deserted from Fort St. David to Villupuram where he was seized and imprisoned, should be brought here. He told me to write for him. I agreed to do so and came away.

Monday, May 10.[2]—When I went to the Fort this morning, I was told that the Governor had taken physic, so I waited about an hour in the sorting-godown. I was leaving the place to go to M. Moracin, who had sent for me, when Guntûr Venkatâchala Chetti

[1] *31st Chittirai, Dhâthu.* [2] *1st Vaigâsi, Dhâthu.*

came to me and said, 'When I visited M. Boyelleau, he said that when he was at the Governor's four or five days ago, he told the latter that, if he listened to gossip about your business and acted unjustly, you could not collect the Company's money, and that the Company would suffer by his doing so; for money could not be collected unless you received proper support; that it was not your money but the Company's, and that if four or five lakhs of arrears accumulated, you would say that they could never be got in. He added that the Governor would be then helpless, and that he had not considered these things, which he had mentioned out of his duty, but that he must do as he thought best.' Having reflected that the Governor might suppose I had requested M. Boyelleau to speak about this, although I had not done so, and considering that Guntûr Venkatâchala Chetti had been told to inform me that, whatever the Governor did, I must be careful, I then visited M. Moracin. He was talking after his coffee with the Superior of St. Paul's Church, and, having sent him away, he went into his *comptoir* and sent for me. I went and paid my respects. He offered me a chair facing him, and said, 'When I was here two years ago, before returning to Masulipatam, not a European or Tamil or any one on the

Mahé side, was dissatisfied with you. In trade, none in India excels you. Even if crores of pagodas are entrusted to you, you know what goods to send to the several countries, and to what parts they must be sent; you maintain accounts, arrange for ships, and report what has been done. But though no one equals you in the country management, yet I am surprised at the way in which people speak against you. This is not your fault. The Tamils regard Brâhmans as Gods; and so you entrust the management of the country affairs to them because you are new to it; but that is why you are now blamed. This is what I told M. Leyrit when he mentioned your affair; but it is said that you behaved very unjustly in Appu's affair.' He spoke of this for half an hour; but, when I replied to him suitably, he dropped that matter, and said, 'Was it not stated that I had made five or six lakhs of rupees by introducing Chinnayan (Peddu Nâyakkan's son) and Pirisi Dâs to M. Godeheu? Once we were great friends, and I helped in all the business you wrote to me about.' He spoke thus for about a quarter of an hour. I explained that, when they had applied through me, I had delayed the matter, whereon they told lies to M. Clouët, who arranged for their visit, and M. Godeheu was angry with me over the matter. I told him [? M.

Morâcin] that I could produce proof of this and knew nothing more about it. His anger then abated somewhat, and he used the same terms of friendship and regard as he did three years ago. I replied to him suitably. Then he said that however justly he had acted at Masulipatam, yet small people and the cultivators would always complain. 'True,' I said; 'I have experienced the same in my management. Many have complained to you against me, as you said just now. Experience will convince you of everything. In every dispute, one side must lose; and the victor will praise while the loser will complain, according to the nature of men. You yourself told me how people praised me three years ago. Please advise how I should behave in regard to the large districts in my possession and how the people should behave. I have not been unjust; but three or four Europeans may have complained to you against me; have you heard any other complaints?'—'No,' he replied, 'but in Appu's affair I learnt that you had been unjust.' I replied that he thought so because he had only heard Appu's story, but that if he heard my side, he would see how matters really stood. 'Perhaps,' he replied. 'Formerly I put Chinniyan (Padmanâdha Nâyakkan's son)[1] in irons; and now

[1] *Sic.* See p. 80 *supra.*

Pirunji Dâs reports this and that to M. Leyrit through M. Miran; I meant to put Pirunji Dâs in irons as I had done Chinniyan; but his father (Sâmu Dâs) who is Gôvardhana Dâs's gumastah, is a good man, so I excused him. M. Miran is a mean dog, and what can he do?" As it was then very late, he said that we might talk about other matters at leisure. So I took leave, and went to my office in the flower-garden.

Tuesday, May 11.[1]—At half-past seven this morning, I went to the Fort and paid my respects to M. Leyrit who was in the eastern hall. He returned his compliments. As the councillors had assembled, he was about to go in, but before going, he asked me if any coolies had come. I replied that 90 Koravars[2] and 288 coolies—378 in all—had come in and that more would arrive in two or three days, besides 170 men carrying cannon to Gingee. On this, he went into the Council. When it had broken up, I enquired what had been done, and heard as follows:—M. Legou's servant quarrelled with his wife and beat her; so she went to M. Legou with her husband and complained; but M. Legou dismissed both telling them he would enquire into it next morning. But the wife said that if she

[1] *2nd Vaigâsi, Dhâthu.*

[2] Cf. Vol. V, p. 339 and n.

remained with her husband, he would kill her that night ; so the servant was locked up in a room. But he died of the shame of having been imprisoned without enquiry. So the council decided that M. Legou must furnish a statement to be sent to Europe, and that he must abide by the orders from thence. I do not know what else was done. The Nayinâr said that the servant had been removed to the hospital, where his bowels were removed for examination, but the body was bound to a cart, and dragged along to the sound of tom-toms, as a warning to those who did the like. Then I went to my office in the flower-garden and came home after twelve.

Thursday, May 13.[1]—Vinâyakan sent word to me by Mêlugiri Chetti that the Second had given him presents in honour of his appointment as head of the Agamudaiyans,[2] and that he wished to visit me. The general custom is that, before a man is appointed head of the Agamudaiyans, a few should come and consult me ; then I would take him to the Governor and get him presents. But now this has not been done. Vinâyakan himself visited the Governor about the headship and now has sent word to me. So I sent Mêlugiri Chetti away with a message that he need not visit me.

[1] *4th Vaigâsi, Dhâthu.*

[2] See Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*, Vol. I, pp. 5, etc.

Friday, May 14.[1]—As I was unwell, I stayed at home to-day. Mâji Pandit came and said that he had reported to the Governor that the English soldier who had deserted to Villupuram where he had been seized, had been brought in here and handed over.

Guruvappa Chetti reported to me that he had heard the Europeans at the Fort saying that four Europe ships had reached the Fort St. David roads, on which guns had been fired at sunrise and that one of the ships had been engaged in the battle at Bombay.[2] He also said that Madanânda Pandit and Bâlâji Pandit had talked with the Governor for a short time and then gone away.

Saturday, May 15.[3]—To-day also I did not go out being still unwell.

The news I heard to-day is as follows :—The ships that arrived yesterday are all from Bombay and not from Europe. They have brought the news that Mr. Clive is coming in another ship ; so the Governor of Fort St. David has ordered that when she is sighted at Devikôttai, many guns are to be fired. This is the report of peons from Fort St. David.

The former news that Bhâji Râo had killed Muzaffar Khân and Morâri Râo and that M. Bussy had fallen in the battle is false ; the

[1] *5th Vaigâsi, Dhâthu.* [2] Presumably the attack on Gheriah.
[3] *6th Vaigâsi, Dhâthu.*

news to-day is that Bhâji Râo has killed 'Abd-ul-majîd Khân, the killedar of Sâvanûr and Bankâpuram and others, but that Muzaffar Khân and Morâri Râo have been chained together.[1] M. Bussy and Salabat Jang have joined Bhâji Râo and all are marching against Mysore.

I also hear that, as Manôji Appâ of Tanjore cut down the reeds planted by the French to protect the banks of the river, the French advanced with a small party of troops and guns, on which news Manôji Appâ advanced to Anaikkarai with his army.

Tuesday, May 18.[2]—As I was on diet to-day, I did not go out this morning; but, when the Governor sent for me, I sent Guruvappa Chetti to him. He asked why no account had been kept of the number of coolies who had come in from the villages. Guruvappa Chetti replied that 510 coolies had come in, and the 200 more who had come too late had been sent back. The Governor replied, 'Yes, but I gave orders for an account to be taken of the persons who came from the several pargannahs. It was not done. Why was that? I shall have to do something.' Guruvappa Chetti made no answer.

[1] This later news was scarcely more accurate than what had preceded it. Both are good examples of bazaar gossip.

[2] *9th Vaigâsi, Dhâthu.*

M. Leyrit, the Governor then asked why the merchant at Porto Novo had not been released, as he had ordered. Guruvappa Chetti replied that it was because the merchant had not paid his dues. The Governor said that he must be released or else the amaldâr of Porto Novo would be sent for, tied up, and beaten. Guruvappa Chetti replied that if that were done, the money would be lost and the Company's money could not be paid, that the commandant had been bribed by the merchant to write in his favour, and that if the Governor gave orders in his favour, the Company's money could not be paid. The Governor then asked what was due from this merchant; he replied that he would report after looking into the accounts. The Governor then told Guruvappa Chetti to write two letters to the commandant, asking how much paddy was to be delivered at the Gingee killa by the amaldâr of Wandiwash. Guruvappa Chetti returned and related this to me, so I wrote to the commandant.

Wednesday, May 19.[1]—At eleven o'clock to-night the following happened:—Two months ago Subbâ Jôsier told me in the presence of Srînivâsa Râo that in my 48th year, on the 10th of Chittirai, a great evil amounting almost to

[1] *10th Vaigâsi, Dhâthu.*

death would befall me owing to the influence of Venus, or, if I then escaped, it would come to pass on the 10th of Vaigâsi owing to the influence of the Sun, and that none could escape from the writing of Brahma. As he had predicted, a death occurred on the 10th of Chittirai,[1] so I expected to escape the influence of the Sun. He also said that until the 10th of Vaigâsi the oblique influence of Saturn would show itself in troubles which would disappear westwards. Subbâ Jôsier's predictions have thus been fulfilled. The fatal influence of Venus was manifest on the 10th of Chittirai; but as the Periya Pillai Avargal died under the fatal influence of Saturn in the month of Vaigâsi, I had feared what might befall me today. Yesterday afternoon Subbâ Jôsier and Nagari Jôsier told me in the presence of Gôpâlaswâmi and Srînivâsa Râo that the planetary danger would only cease on the 10th, but from that day, as Subbâ Jôsier had foretold, the evil influence would pass away westwards of the gate. Nagari Jôsier asked who the two people were that appeared to have perished. Subbâ Jôsier answered, 'When the influence of the Sun ceases, and removes westwards, why trouble about the victims or enquire who they are? Let us mind our own business and not trouble ourselves about anything beyond. It is true that two persons seemed threatened;

[1] The death of the Diarist's wife.

but as the influence passes westwards of the gate, let it be.'

We conversed idly until half-past ten at night, when I went in to eat and the others departed.

When I had eaten, [I heard that] Narasinga Râo had said to Sharîf Husain (who returned from the country four or five days ago), 'You have been clever enough to be absent for a long time without leave. Moreover you stole two [ ] rupees. A man like you is not fit for a post of trust. I therefore dismiss you.' So saying he summoned Savugini Visu-sivarum[1] Pandit, and told him that as he had dismissed Sharîf Husain, his name should no longer be entered on the rolls. But this man continued daily to stand about at the gate; and on a certain day, when Shaikh 'Alî and Dâûd Bâi were standing on the western side of the gate, Sharîf Husain came there as usual, and, drawing his sword, gave Shaikh 'Alî a deep wound in the neck. When Dâûd Bâi stretched out his hand, asking why he had done so, the other struck off one of his hands and gave him a wound in the other. At once those outside entered the gate and fled in alarm. I sent Srînivâsa Râo to find out the cause of the alarm and noise. He went out,

[1] *Sic* in text.

scolded them and drove them away. I also went out, and having got torches, sent at once for the Nayinâr and told him to send my peons and his to find out whither the murderer had gone. The news was also sent to the several gates and the peons sent out to search. At two o'clock the culprit went to the house of Krishnayyan (Morâri Râo's vakîl), and telling him what he had done, begged him to save him. Krishnayyan told him to give up his sword, and, having put him in safe custody, sent for me. I sent men at once to fetch him and delivered him to the Nayinâr's peons to be imprisoned at the Choultry. This was done, and the wounded man was told to go home, as well as the man who had lost his hand.

Thursday, May 20.[1]—This morning, the Nayinâr reported to M. Leyrit, the Governor, the detail of last night's crime. The Governor told him to inform the King's *Procureur* M. du Bausset, M. des Naudières the Secretary, and M. La Haye the Surgeon-major. They inspected the wounded man as well as Dâûd Bâi who had lost his hand, took their statements as usual, and informed the Governor who ordered M. Delarche and another (whose name I do not know) to make further enquiries. When they had done so, they ordered the man

[1] *11th Vaigâsi Dhâthu.*

who had been wounded to be buried and the man who had lost his hand to be attended to in hospital. Statements of the witnesses were taken as usual. Then the guilty dalâyet who was imprisoned in the Choultry was brought and questioned. He replied that he had wounded them because they had mocked him. The Nayinâr came and reported that his statement had been recorded and that he had been put in the dungeon to be fed at the Company's expense until he should be hanged.

M. du Bausset summoned Râjagôpâla Nâyakkan, and said threateningly that the real culprit had been hidden and another accused in his place. Râjagôpâla Nâyakkan replied that the accused was the real culprit who had taken refuge in the house of Krishnappan, Morâri Râo's vakîl, where also he did mischief so that no further proof was needed. He added that it would be sin to conceal a murderer and that it was not right thus to accuse him. Although M. du Bausset did his best with the help of Periyannan to secure his private purpose, yet he failed.

Tuesday, May 25.[1]—As the wedding-procession in Vinâyaka Pillai's house had been fixed for this evening, Razâ Sâhib (Chandâ Sâhib's son) and 'Alî Naqî Sâhib visited him.

[1] *16th Vaigâsi, Dhâthu.*

and were given a rich dress of honour each ; and two salutes of 15 guns were fired. Parasurâman who was in charge of the fireworks, was sent for and asked why he had fired the salutes, and whether he was ignorant of the orders of M. Dupleix' time that such salutes should not be fired without orders. Parsurâman replied that the Second after summoning the master-gunner, had told him to obey Vinâyaka Pillai and that was why he had fired them.

A procession bearing perfumes came to my house this afternoon in order to persuade me to send Annâswâmi on a richly caparisoned elephant to take part in the marriage-processions of Vinâyaka Pillai's family to-night. I agreed, and sent Annâswâmi on an elephant with a silver howdah, with standards and other marks of honour in order to accompany the procession round the town. Vinâyakan had sent a dress of honour and a chain to be presented as though bestowed by the Governor when the procession passed the Fort. He also arranged to prevent crowds in the streets so that the Governor might not get angry. He took Periya Parasurâma Pillai's son alone into the Fort, to receive the dress of honour and chain from the Governor. The procession was over by two o'clock. Annâswâmi alone drew

the praise of the crowd. I have therefore written accordingly.

Wednesday, May 26.[1]—As I have been unwell, I sent Guruvappa Chetti to the Fort this morning. He returned and said that, according to the European custom, the Governor and the councillors went to the church dressed in black to hear mass, and, having returned, went upstairs into the council chamber to pass sentence of death on the dalâyet for his crime on the night of the 19th. It was resolved that he should be hanged, and orders were given to M. des Naudières, the Secretary, to hang him at four o'clock on the gallows in the bazaar-street.

At five o'clock this evening the troops were drawn up and the dalâyet was led in the midst with his hands tied behind his back, and hanged on the gallows erected in the bazaar-street.

Friday, May 28.[2]—As I have been sick, I did not go out this morning. Ênêdapalli Krishnâji Pandit came and said that M. Leyrit, the Governor, having risen early this morning, despatched with guards of sepoys two palankins for Europeans which he sent, one to Madras and the other to Sadras; then he went to the south bastion and ordered

[1] *17th Vaigâsi, Dhâthu.*

[2] *19th Vaigâsi, Dhâthu.*

M. Claré [?] to fire six shots out to sea to ascertain the range; then he went to M. Desvoeux' house, whence after remaining a while he returned to the *Gouvernement*.

This evening M. Guillard sent word by his dubâsh that, if I would send the receipts for the money I had paid in as the country rents since my taking the lease, he would compare them with the accounts and return them. I sent answer that I would collect the receipts to-morrow and send them on the morning of the day after by Chidambara Mudali. I then called Râmânji Pandit and Chidambara Mudali and told them to examine the accounts carefully and show the receipts to M. Guillard.

M. des Naudières then came to enquire after my health. Among other things he said, 'A Europe ship has reached Madras with letters for M. Boyelleau. The Gazette says that when M. Dupleix visited the King of France, the latter treated him graciously. M. Dupleix will not come back to India. M. Boyelleau may have told you this and you know all about M. Godeheu.' He then departed. Thinking that it would be improper to question him further, I listened to what he said, but after his departure, I made further enquiries. M. Dupleix in the time of his successes used to live in the old *Gouvernement* built by M. Lenoir. When M. Godeheu occupied

the upper-story of the building in the Fort, he used ten rooms as godowns for the Company's goods. I hear that M. Leyrit the Governor has been busy emptying these rooms for these six days; and the news brought by the ships confirms what I have heard. There are many stories why the rooms have been cleared. People say that perhaps M. Godeheu or some friend of his is coming with the King's orders and full powers like those of M. Godeheu the Commandant-General, with the title of *Commissaire du Roi* like Madâr-ul-mulk, with power to appoint and dismiss, and to spend crores as he shall please. Perhaps some one like this has been appointed Governor in the place of M. Leyrit. Thus men explain the clearing of the rooms. I write what they say, and indeed the astrologers have named the month of Âdi as an epoch. We shall see what really happens. Ever since M. Prévostière's time[1] in this government, there has been constant trouble and dissatisfaction in the town. Even the Company's property has not been spared; the very Pariahs behave like kings. When the state of the town is thus, men say they cannot tell the discreditable things that await the town and the Company.

[1] Prévostière was Governor 1718—1721.

Monday, May 31.[1]—Kandâl Guruvappa Chetti who visited the Governor at the Fort today, returned at eleven o'clock and said, 'A council was held this morning at eight o'clock to enquire about a Muhammadan, two Vadugas and a woman who were sent hither and imprisoned in the Choultry for a murder at Masulipatam. It was decided to imprison the Muhammadan and one Vaduga in the dungeon and to send the woman and the other Vaduga out of the Bounds. I do not know what will be done with the two persons who have been imprisoned in the Fort prison. The council broke up at eleven o'clock and all went home. This is the news.' After reporting this news, Guruvappa Chetti went home.

Chidambara Mudali visited me and said that M. Guillard on his return from council told him that he would decide the matter to-morrow, and that therefore he must go to him to-morrow morning. It rained heavily this evening and all night.

[1] *22nd Vaigâsi, Dhâthu.*

JUNE 1756.

Tuesday, June 1.[1]—A certain man fell last night into the well in Vinâyakan's house and was drowned. In order to avoid enquiry, M. Barthélemy was told that a blind man, who was also mad, had been drowned. The matter was reported to the Governor who gave permission for the corpse to be disposed of. I now hear that this has been done.

Saubhâghyavathi Nannâchi[2] took leave of me and set out for Venkatammâlpêttai about three o'clock this evening.

Thursday, June 3.[3]—Guruvappa Chetti, who had gone to the Fort, returned and said that a council had been held to consider the letter from M. du Rocher. This said that he had seized a Madurantakam Reddi in the Karunguli country (which is disputed between the French and the English under Mr. Gaupp), that he had imprisoned him in Âlambarai, that in the fighting, one man had been killed and two wounded, and that when Mr. Gaupp, the English commandant, was written to about this, he had ordered reprisals, publishing it by beat of tom-tom and making ready for war. [The Chetti] added that the Council had

[1] *23rd Vaigâsi, Dhâthu.* [2] Ranga Pillai's daughter.
[3] *25th Vaigâsi, Dhâthu.*

resolved on their reply to M. du Rocher but that he had not heard what other matters were discussed.

Friday, June 4.[1]—I told Guruvappa Chetti to go to the Fort to-day, but he said that, as there was nothing important going forward and few people there, he would go if sent for.

I hear to-day that two officers fought a duel with swords near the Bound-hedge, on some point of honour. The poligar's man came and informed the Governor that one had been killed ; so M. d'Auteuil and others went to see what had happened. The corpse was carried to the hospital and then buried. The survivor was trying to bury the corpse but fled when he saw their palankins approaching ; although some Europeans knew that the murderer was in the town, they concealed the matter. We shall see what happens. I will ascertain the names of the two officers concerned in the duel, and write them down.

Friday, June 11.[2]—I heard this afternoon that the ship which sailed [? from the Islands] with those that arrived here on April 9, had reached these roads after having been driven to Achin by unfavourable winds, 31 days after she put to sea. Guns were fired, and the captain, M. La Vigne, landed and delivered

[1] *26th Vaigâsi, Dhâthu.*

[2] *1st Âni, Dhâthu.*

the letters. The ship is said to be either the *St. Contest* or the *St. Pierre*[1]. She must have brought the 20,000 marcs of silver which she was announced as bringing. It is said that she has brought nothing else but liquor.

Tuesday, June 15.[2]—Being anxious to confirm the news I heard this morning and what I have written on conjecture from M. Guillard's report of M. Leyrit, the Governor's words after yesterday's council, I waited in the sorting-godown where I saw M. Flacourt, who has taken a lease of the lands belonging to the Srîrangam temple and in the Trichinopoly country between the two rivers. He said, 'I hear that M. Boyelleau and M. Desvoeux are to inspect your country, and M. Guillard Srîrangam and Turaiyûr. What is the use of their going? What accounts can they settle? The jamabandi should be made and the accounts settled this month [*Âni*]. But if the renters hear that the councillors are coming to examine the accounts, they will not only withhold the amount they mean to pay, but also dispute the balance, thus the management will be troubled and the collections hindered. Besides that, the *Kâr* harvest in *Âni*, and the sowing of *Kambu*, etc., will be

[1] She was the *St. Contest. Correspondence with Bengal*, III 286.
[2] *5th Âni, Dhâthu.*

neglected, so that there will be no produce. Your lease has three more years to run, and they should ask you face to face what money is due, instead of stupidly sending people out like this and causing disturbances in the country. Why did you not ask them this? Unless the Council declares that I am not to continue to manage, they cannot go and question my renters. Besides, what reason have they for going at such a time? If the matter is to be investigated, they must be answerable for the loss; they must see to the money but should not question the renters about the accounts. They know nothing about the lands or the method of the country management. They know nothing about the trade which they conduct, but they know even less of the country management. They believe and act upon whatever they hear.' He said much else about the country management, the liberty given to the commandants who plunder and cause immense trouble instead of protecting the ryots and allowing the amaldârs to manage. I then asked why he had not addressed the council, and he replied, 'I cannot do that until I know something. The councillors who were yesterday said to be going, do not even speak to me when they meet me. When I asked one or two if they were going to enquire into the country

affairs, they denied it, declaring what I had heard to be false and saying that they were only going for a holiday. So how can I complain?' I replied that every one had lost his senses over this business. He said, 'I will speak to M. Leyrit, M. Barthélemy and M. Lenoir about it. You also had better speak to the Governor and dissuade him.' I said that I would speak to them, and requested him to do the same, crowning him with a garland of encouragement. M. Barthélemy who is his friend may help; but M. Delarche and M. du Bausset will be obstinate, for this has been brought about by their hatred of me. It will strengthen me to support him about the Srîrangam affair, for, as he is a European, who knows other Europeans and will talk to them, all will know that these proposals are wrong. But what will be must be. After dismissing him, I went to my office in the flower-garden, where I wrote letters about preparing the country accounts until I came home at noon.

Tuesday, June 22.[1]—I went to the Fort at eight o'clock this morning, and waited at the *Gouvernement* till the Company's merchants came. M. Leyrit came out of his room at nine o'clock. The officers, councillors and others paid their respects to him, and I and the

[1] *12th Âni, Dhâthu.*

Company's merchants did so too. I gave the Governor a bouquet of jasmine and said, 'I have received news from Kûnimêdu that Mr. Clive, who has been appointed Governor of Fort St. David, left Kûnimêdu last night and will travel to-day by Nêsal and Abhirâmpattu, in order to reach Fort St. David by way of Villiyanallûr. On Mr. Clive's arrival, Mr. Starke, the late Governor of Fort St. David, will go to Madras as Second. Mr. Starke's dubâsh, servants and others, set out with his goods for Madras eight days ago. On Mr. Clive's arrival, the keys will be delivered to him and two or three days later Mr. Starke will set out for Madras. I also hear that besides the 300 soldiers and 600 sepoys from Trichinopoly, some of the thousand King's soldiers are being sent against the Angrias, who have already been defeated by Mr. Clive but have since assembled their forces and attacked the outposts. Lascars and men are being impressed to be sent thither, and the people of Cuddalore, etc., know not what to do. The four ships that came with Mr. Clive are said to be returning to Bombay and those parts.' The Governor asked if Mr. Clive would reach Cuddalore to-night. I said he would.

The master-gunner and news-people then came and reported the news. The Governor went in at once to write. So I and the

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merchants went to the sorting-godown, where he stayed till half-past ten; I then went to my office in the flower-garden.

The news-letters from Arcot and Vellore received last week report as follows:— M. Bussy and Salabat Jang having quarrelled, the former demanded his pay for the period he had served, and they prepared for war; but a reconciliation was effected, and M. Bussy has marched with his troops towards Masulipatam; he is to enjoy Ellore, Rajahmundry, Chicacole, etc., in settlement of the amount due to him. Sânôji Nimbâlakar has marched with 10,000 horse, and Bâlâji Râo (Bhâji Râo's son) has left for Poona. Salabat Jang is marching to Hyderabad. He has sent Muhammad 'Alî Khân a parwâna with a covered palankin, *turrâ*, sword, and a dress of honour, whereon 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân, Mîr Asad and others have given nazars of congratulation to Muhammad 'Alî Khân. The Vellore affair has been settled for a lakh of pagodas through Mîr Asad who has disbanded his *sibbandis*. It has been decided to grant Agaram (in Vellore) and Tuttipattu to Murtazâ 'Alî Khân, and Muhammad 'Alî Khân has dismissed the *sibbandis* he was maintaining. I have written this news, but I cannot tell what has happened between M. Bussy and Salabat Jang, or what will happen.

Wednesday, June 23.[1]—I went with the Company's merchants this morning to see M. Leyrit, the Governor, who was upstairs in the *Gouvernement.* After dismissing M. Abeille and others who were talking with him, he went into his room, and, calling me, asked about the 10,000 rupees sent to him the day before yesterday. I said that it was commission at 5 *per cent.* on this year's contract, instead of the 3 *per cent.* paid last year. The Governor said that only a lakh of rupees had been advanced, so that only 5,000 and not 10,000 rupees are due. I said that as further sums would be advanced later, I had told the merchants to pay 5,000 rupees more, which could be adjusted afterwards, and that he might see about it later on. To this the Governor replied that I might do as I pleased. I replied, 'You trust me little. You have listened to all who have complained against me although they have never procured you a single fanam, and my only profit has been to incur your anger. But though you keep me at a distance and grow angry with me, you know how much you have profited by me. My ill-fortune has made you unkind to me. I can blame nothing else.' The Governor said nothing, but fidgeted and

[1] *13th Âni, Dhâthu.*

looked down. So I thought it best to say no more, and to reopen the subject some other time.

I therefore said, 'The Turaiyûr Reddi has sent a letter for you to his vakîl (Bâlâji Pandit) complaining that he cannot endure the troubles caused by the commandant. The vakîl will bring a French translation of it to-day or to-morrow, as soon as he has got it ready. Of the 5,000 rupees to be given as a present, it is said that 2,500 rupees are now ready and the balance will be in a week or ten days. I have told him to bring what he has and pay the balance afterwards. He has agreed to do so and is busy about it.'

The Governor then asked if the investment contracts had yet been made at Madras or Fort St. David. I replied, 'No contract has yet been given at Fort St. David. Mr. Clive only arrived there last night; I do not know whether he will take charge to-day or to-morrow; and the orders he has brought from Madras will only be known after he has assumed authority. By the news from Madras ten days ago, no contract had then been given, and no further news has been received since.'

He then asked the Arcot news. I said, 'Salabat Jang has sent Muhammad 'Alî Khân a covered palankin, a sword, dagger, *turra*, *sarpêch*, dress of honour, etc., besides a

parwâna confirming him in the Carnatic subah. The presents have reached Cuddapah ; and all have offered nazars on the news. Mîr Asad is dîwân.' The Governor said he had heard that presents had been sent to the English with a letter requesting them to help Muhammad 'Alî Khân. I said that though my letter had not mentioned it, his news might be true.

I also reported that Salabat Jang intended to winter at [Hyderabad] and that the Nânâ had set out for Poona with his troops.

I then said lightly, 'The amaldârs and renters in the country have ceased collecting money and are busy examining and adjusting the accounts in the presence of the councillors who have gone from here to examine them. However, I will write to them to send money and pay in whatever I receive.' Without any particular reply, he told me cheerfully to pay in whatever I might receive, and then dismissed me. Having taken leave, I went into the great hall, and, instead of repeating to the Company's merchants what I had said to the Governor, said to them, 'The Governor said the 10,000 rupees was a present and asked about the 5,000 rupees commission at five *per cent.* I told him that the amount would be given the next time money was advanced. The Governor said that money should be sent at once to distant places and goods obtained'

Having spoken thus severely to them, I went to the office in the flower-garden.

At four o'clock this evening chobdar Muhammad Husain came from the Governor and said, 'M. Desvoeux who has been sent to Tiruviti, has sent a letter by four peons asking for Uganthâchi Pillai, the nâttâr of Tîrtanagari country, to be sent to him. After reading it, the Governor immediately wrote a reply, and sent me with the four peons to take Uganthâchi Pillai from the prison at the Choultry. But when I went there, I was told that he was not there. When I reported this to the Governor, he said that he must be with you and that I was to fetch him.' As the chobdar had brought the four peons, I gave orders in their presence and in the presence of some householders for Uganthâchi Pillai, Kuppaya Pillai and Villiyanallûr Vânâ Padayâchi to be brought.

Thursday, June 24.[1]—This morning I went to the Fort. The Governor and others had gone to church to hear mass, as it was the feast of St. John. At the time of mass, the troops were drawn up and three salutes and volleys were fired according to custom; but when the Europeans marched up, they were dismissed without being drawn up. I shall

[1] *14th Âni, Dhâthu.*

learn why this was and write it down. After hearing mass, the Governor went upstairs. I paid my respects to him with a bouquet. He returned his thanks, but he did not speak to anybody except M. Delarche with whom he talked from eight to half-past ten. As M. Delarche had a letter with him, I think that he must have reported to the Governor some news about Muhammad 'Alî Khân at Arcot. The Second and others who came to talk to the Governor waited till ten o'clock and then went away. I waited till the same time, and then went to my office in the flower-garden.

Friday, June 25.[1]—At eight o'clock this morning, I paid my respects to M. Leyrit, the Governor, with a bouquet. He accepted it smilingly and, after talking with all, went with M. Lenoir into his room. Afterwards he came into the central hall. Madanânda Pandit then came and said [to me], 'A letter has to be written to Vijayarâma Râjâ by his man Jamâl Muhammad, in reply to Vijayarâma Râjâ's letter, and letters recommending him to Salabat Jang and M. Bussy about the revenues of the Ellore, Rajahmundry and Chicacole pargannahs.[2] It was first said that when the *sibbandi* accounts were examined, [sums ?]

[1] *15th Âni, Dhâthu.*

[2] Bussy rented the Circar revenues to him for the first year.

would be found to be due ; and after discussion it was resolved to fix 18 lakhs of rupees. But the letters say that after M. Bussy had set out in much anger for Masulipatam with a mansabdar and a few horse, Salabat Jang wrote to him saying that there was no need for haste, as they might go together to Hyderabad ; and we do not know what since has happened. So it is now said that this is not the time to write, and that it may be mentioned again to-morrow. Nobody has gained anything by him[1], but he eagerly takes all that is offered.' It seemed to be improper to answer his derisive words. He has waxed fat and speaks thus senselessly because the Governor is too careless to manage affairs through the chief dubâsh as formerly. So I only said the matter could be mentioned to the Governor to-morrow and went to my office in the flower-garden.

Sunday, June 27.[2]—After hearing mass this morning, M. Leyrit, the Governor, went upstairs with M. Barthélemy the Second, and other councillors and officers. I and the Company's merchants went and paid our respects.

At the Choultry-court the day before yesterday a Brâhman was imprisoned in the Company's name by the Second for some theft

[1] *i.e.*, Vijayarâma Râjâ.

[2] *17th Âni, Dhâthu.*

committed outside. Râjagôpâla Nâyakkan (Vîrâ Nâyakkan's son) with the Company's merchants approached M. Barthélemy and M. Delarche about this matter. Orders were obtained that the man might be released on payment of a fine of 300 rupees, which they agreed to find, so the Brâhman was released. M. Barthélemy remained talking till half-past ten ; so I took leave and went to my office in the flower-garden.

Since seven o'clock to-night, there has been heavy rain.

Monday, June 28.[1]—At eight o'clock this morning I saw M. Leyrit, the Governor, on his way from hearing mass to the *Gouvernement* with the officers to hold a council to pass sentence of hanging on a soldier for killing sepoys at Utramallûr. M. Barthélemy the Second who was in the sorting-godown joined the Governor and went upstairs. On their way to the council room, I presented him with a bouquet and some pomegranates. The Governor accepted them, and, after pausing to return my compliments, went into the council. So I and the Company's merchants went to the sorting-godown where I told the Company's merchants sharply that they had long ago received advances, and asked how

[1] *18th Âni, Dhâthu.*

cloth could be got if they delayed sending the money up-country. They replied the delay was due to the need of changing their rupees into pagodas, which would be done in two or three days and the entire amount despatched. They also complained that M. Cornet was pressing them for 8,000 pagodas as due in the 24-share business. I said, 'You should receive an abatement of 3,700 and odd pagodas—2,700 and odd on the 9 *per cent.* affair, 670 in the matter of presents, and 170 and odd pagodas in the Lâlâpêttai business. Moreover over 2,000 pagodas are due on account of extra wages paid to the washers; accounts for which have been produced. When I formerly told M. Dupleix, he said he would speak to M. Cornet; but no occasion arose and it was forgotten. I will tell the Governor and we will abide by his decision. This is not a matter to be decided by M. Cornet, but by the Governor.'

While we were talking, the council broke up, having resolved that the soldier should be hanged, and the gallows was ordered to be set up to the south; the soldier was sent to the church, and all then went home. I was told that the Governor who was in his room with the Second, had sent for me. When I went, Vinâyaka Pillai was coming out after an interview with him. The Governor and the

Second said, 'You have been supplying the commandants, soldiers and sepoys at Chidambaram, Vriddhachalam, Tiruviti, Gingee, Ulaganûr and Utramallûr with rice, fuel and other provisions; from July onwards, you need not do this, as we have ordered the Arumpâtai's people to supply them. They will buy provisions for ready money and issue them; and only when they cannot procure them elsewhere, they will buy provisions from your people, in which case they must be bought and supplied at the market rate; otherwise you need supply nothing, so that your people need not go to the commandants nor the latter's people to you. These are our orders, so your people need no longer attend on the commandants' summons, but let them supply provisions at the market rate to the Arumpâtai's people, in exchange for ready money. Write accordingly to your people at several places about this and get detailed accounts.' I agreed, and, having taken leave, waited in the central hall.

The Second and the Governor continued talking for about an hour, when the former took leave and went home.

M. Sornay then called me and said, 'You engaged earth-diggers at three-quarters of a fanam *per* yard. But hitherto they have been paid only five-eighths of a fanam. When I

informed the Governor, he ordered them to receive four cash a yard more ; so tell them, if they ask, that they will be paid $1\frac{1}{16}$ths of a fanam in future according to the Governor's orders.[1]' I said I would do so and went to my office in the flower-garden. There Mahâdêva Ayyan came and said that the Second had directed him to inform me as follows : 'When the Second went to the Fort, the Governor told him that M. Desvoeux had written to him saying that, on examining the Tiruviti accounts, he found that large amounts had been collected, and that little remained due, to which the Governor had replied that the lessees and amaldârs should be continued in the management, and that the collections must be remitted to him. The Second observed that that was wrong, for difficulties would arise if the Governor's people received the collections from the lessees and amaldârs ; that the gentlemen should only report what balances were still due in the country, and that instead of appointing tahsildars the Governor should allow five or six months for payment. He added the Governor might be sure that no more trustworthy person could be found than a man who had lived here for the last 45 years in the management of large concerns, as

[1] As indicated in this passage the Pondichery cash passed at 64 to the fanam. At Madras the rate was 80.

he himself knew well. So he urged that you should be continued without the least hesitation. To these strong words the Governor answered in acquiescence and asked if you would agree to it. The Second said that you would agree a thousand times. So when you are sent for, you should agree to this limit of time.' I sent him away with the following reply :—'Of your extreme kindness to me, you were pleased to take this occasion to speak to the Governor on my behalf. If I am to make my payments at the specified time, the gentlemen must not be allowed to go and alarm the ryots and the accountants; for, if that is allowed, there will be loss of produce, the collections will not be made, and they will lose their awe of me. Be pleased therefore to explain all this so that the gentlemen and commandant may not cause further disturbances; nor let the gentlemen here listen to those who call themselves *nâttârs* and tell lies, thus giving room for disturbances. Let all punishments be inflicted by my orders, and let my expenses be repaid. All these matters must be well explained and settled with the Governor.' Thus I sent him away.

I went to the house of my dear uncle Vîrarâghava Pillai to see his son who has been seriously ill. He departed to *Vaikuntam*,[1] in the third watch, and his body was burnt this

[1] The abode of Vishnu.

evening. I went to his house this evening, and then returned home.

As Mr. Clive has taken charge of the government of Fort St. David, Mr. Starke the former Governor, arrived this evening and is staying with M. Carvalho. I shall enquire why he has come and write.

Tuesday, June 29.[1]—Being still polluted, I did not go out to-day, but I sent Guruvappa Chetti to the Fort. He visited the Governor at the *Gouvernement*, and, returning at eleven o'clock, said, 'There has been a change of Governors at Fort St. David. Mr. Starke who is going to Madras as Second and who slept the night at M. Carvalho's house, visited the Governor early this morning. Two officers met him at the Fort gate, and, as he passed, the drums beat as for the Second and the guard turned out. Councillors met him at the foot of the *Gouvernement* staircase, and conducted him up to the Governor, the Second and the other councillors who were standing at the top to receive him. They went into the central hall instead of the council room, and a salute of 17 guns was fired. After an interchange of compliments, and talking about several matters, Starke took leave and went to M. Carvalho's house where he is staying.'

[1] *19th Âni, Dhâthu.*

Mahâdêva Râo then came and said, 'You gave me a letter to be shown to the Governor about the country affairs, after it had been seen and approved by the Second. I gave it to the Second accordingly. After reading it he said joyfully that the letter was properly written and should be given to the Governor and the matter discussed without delay. I explained that you could not go out to-day as you were polluted. He then said that you should go and talk to him to-morrow morning, and that, if the matter were settled by you, him and the Governor, no one else could do anything, and the whole business might be settled in six months and the gentlemen brought back here. The Second asked me to tell you so.' So saying he gave me back my letter to the Governor which I had sent to the Second to read. I know that all must happen as God decrees at the time of one's birth and that nothing lies in man's power.

Wednesday, June 30.[1]—This morning I went to the Fort with the Governor's letter and Vijayarâma Râjâ's letter to me. When the Governor had drunk [his coffee,] first M. Lenoir, the councillors and officers—20 in number—visited him, and then the head-surgeon, and then the Beach-people reported

[1] *20th Âni, Dhâthu.*

their news. I also paid my respects with a bouquet. He accepted it with great joy and having smelt it four times, put it in his button-hole, but said nothing. He then walked up and down the great hall on the south, until all had gone away, and then went into his room. Immediately afterwards Kandappa Mudali came and said that the Governor wanted me. When I went, he asked about the reply to be sent to Vijayarâma Râjâ. I told him that Vijayarâma Râjâ's letter requested two letters of recommendation, one to M. Bussy and the other to Salabat Jang with some powder, cartridges, muskets, and two cannon. I then gave him the French translation of Vijayarâma Râjâ's letter. After reading it, the Governor said, 'Salabat Jang and M. Bussy do not agree and will not do as we write; so what is the use of writing to them? Moreover this is not the proper time for writing; nor is this the time to send cannon, powder and shot to Vijayarâma Râjâ, for I do not know how we and Salabat Jang will get on over the country affairs; it is not advisable to supply powder and shot and cannon. So we must send excuses.' I replied that the reply might run as follows:—'I have written to M. Moracin about your business and he will help you in all affairs; you may know that this is not the proper time to write to Salabat Jang.'

Thereon he told me to explain this to Madanânda Pandit, and he told Madanânda Pandit to write accordingly.

When he and Vijayarâma Râjâ's man had gone, the Governor asked about the country revenue. I replied, 'When the jamabandi was made in my country last month, all said that they would pay a lakh of pagodas this month, and it was arranged that four lakhs of rupees should be paid. But owing to the gentlemen's behaviour in the country, the rents have not been paid and people have no fear. Besides cultivation has suffered. How then will money come into my hands and how can I pay the Company? Moreover M. Desvoeux who has gone to Tiruviti summoned the ryots, *nâttârs*, etc., and told them that they must not pay me a cash, that they must pay it to others and that while I managed the country, the collections must go to him. So money has not been sent to me.' The Governor could not reply to this but said that M. Desvoeux had written that I had mentioned as due only half of what the cultivators had shown in the accounts. I replied, 'M. Desvoeux has written saying that even if all the collections made in the country, including the money taken, were brought into account, the balance would not be so great as has been stated. How can he say that all the amounts detailed to him by the *nâttârs*, are due to the

Company? For centuries it has been the custom to pay the country establishments, the usual gratuities, the petty contingencies, the dancers and actors and beggars; after the jamabandi, all these expenses are deducted from the collections, and the balance then shown is collected and paid to the Company. As this is the practice, [? the *nâttârs*] said they could not sign any agreement to increase the collections or reduce the amount to be collected. M. Desvoeux replied that his proposal was favourable to them. They replied that the collections must be made according to custom, that, if anything were done contrary, troubles would afterwards arise and that therefore they could not consider his plan as advantageous. Thereupon M. Desvoeux said that they might settle the affair with the amaldârs and sign the agreement which they should reach with them.' I added that, when the accounts were taken from the cultivators, the writers were tied to a tree with ropes and beaten with tamarind rods, that it was proclaimed by beat of tom-tom that no one should speak with my people, and guards of infantry were set over them. When I thus briefly related this spiteful conduct, the Governor asked if I had paid in all the amounts I had received. I replied, 'I have an account of the money collected in the country, and paid to the Company and

disbursed for the establishments and petty contingencies. There is no mistake in it. I have lived here nobly and honourably for the last 45 years ; all the gentlemen have declared that none was so honourable as I ; my name and reputation extended to France ; and my management of trade and policy was praised in Delhi. But for the past year men have called me incapable. This is due to my evil star. I can blame no one.' He then asked if my balance would be paid up in two or three months. I replied that, if the gentlemen had not been sent out enquiring, two or three lakhs of rupees would have been paid this month and that, if I were given a free hand, and the commandants were not suffered to interfere with my management, the entire balance would be collected in four or five months .

I then gave the Governor the paper I had prepared for his perusal. After twice reading it, he put it on the table and looked for another paper. Not finding it, he dismissed me, but, as I was going out, he sent for me again. When I went in, the Bishop of Mylapore's brother-in-law was with the Governor who said, 'The Bishop of Mylapore has come here from Arcot. His brother-in-law tells me that he wants a certain house in Âlambarai with a garden containing palmyra, coconut and jack trees.' I replied that I did not know the

house, but that I would write and find out, and let him know. The Bishop's brother-in-law spoke rather authoritatively, but the Governor could not check him and went inside. So I came away.

The Governor afterwards summoned me and said, 'A shop-keeper has given in a petition which I have lost, complaining that the St. Paul's priests have taken his shop for Muttiya Pillai and I have been searching for it. Ask him about it and let me know.' I agreed and came out. On making enquiries, I learnt from Mangân of the liquor shop that he had presented a petition complaining that the St. Paul's priests had taken the shop he had owned for the last 60 years. I told him to be present to-morrow when I would mention it. As it was about twelve o'clock and Mr. Starke was to be given a feast, I considered that nothing more would be done, so I came home.

Mr. Starke was given a banquet that lasted till night. Guns were fired at dinner time at night. There was music and dancing. 250 candles were used. It rained at night.

Pâpayya Pillai was going to present a petition to the Governor to-day through Kandappa Mudali. Kandan sent me word by Guruvappa Chetti that Pâpayya Pillai's petition said that he would produce accounts to show that money

had been received from the country, that, if he were given the lease, he would pay in the rents punctually, for which M. Delarche and M. du Bausset would be sureties. My message adds that he has withheld the petition for fear of danger, but that he will present it when the whole matter has been discussed. The petition was also sent to me along with the message. I read the petition and sent word in reply that though such a petition were presented, nothing could be done against one's fate ; that he[1] must pay what was due without delay, though his convenience should be consulted. Thus I returned the petition also. Kandan has sent this petition only to see what I should answer. I think he lies when he says that he has not given in the petition to the Governor ; he must have given it though the Governor has taken no notice of it.

[1] Sc. Pâpayya Pillai.

JULY 1756.

Friday, July 2.[1]—I hear that in the Council which was held yesterday, it was decided to send help to Tranquebar. Since the return of M. St. Paul, the Secretary, from Tranquebar, the matter has been hastened up and 250 military and 400 sepoys were sent on board a ship this afternoon under the command of M. Goupil.[2]

M. Leyrit, the Governor, Mr. Starke, M. Barthélemy and others drove out in a carriage this evening to the Second's garden.

Saturday, July 3.[3]—As I was unwell, I sent Guruvappa Chetti to the Fort. He returned saying that the Governor had retired to write an urgent letter after appearing for a little, that no Europeans were present, that M. Goupil who is to go to Tranquebar to command the soldiers and sepoys that went on board yesterday, visited the Governor at seven o'clock to-day to take leave before going on board and that there was no other news. I have heard nothing else.

Chidambara Mudali having paid 20,000 rupees and 5,000 current pagodas to M. Lenoir

[1] *22nd Âni, Dhâthu.*

[2] The Danes had quarrelled with the Râjâ of Tanjore. See Caillaud's letter *ap. Military Consultations, 1756*, p. 227, and letter from Tranquebar with resolution thereon, pp. 231-232.

[3] *23rd Âni, Dhâthu.*

to-day, being the collections in the country, came and showed me the receipt which I ordered to be kept as usual.

Sunday, July 4.[1]—Monseigneur le Gouverneur,

Monseigneur,

J'ai donné à ferme Trevedy cette année-ci pour la somme de cent seize mille Roupies, non compris le droit de Ressoum (*sic*) sattelavar [et] sibandy ; les chefs des habitants m'en ont donné leur sommission par écrit que j'ai entre les mains ; suivant ces conditions j'ai défalqué dans ce qu'ils m'ont payé jusqu' aujourd' hui le Roussoum sattelevar [et] sibandy et ils me sont redevables de quatre-vingt deux mille Roupies payables au mois de Septembre, mon avaldar qui est sur les lieux en a fourni le compte à Mr. Devaux auquel il a présenté qu'il fallait que les habitants tiennent leurs engagements, ensuite il a fait appeler tous les habitants et leurs chefs auxquels il a demandé combien ils m'avaient payé, ils lui en ont donné le compte avec le Ressoum sattelavar et sibandy, mais il n'a pas voulu le prendre et a arrêté le compte à la somme de quarante sept mille roupies payables à six mois de terme, les chefs des habitants lui ont représenté qu'ils étaient obligés de me

[1] *24th Âni, Dhâthu.*

tenir compte du Ressoum sattelavar [et] sibandy, mais il ne leur a donné aucune reponse à cet égard, il a commis un avaldar auquel il a donné ordre de regir et de faire rentrer les fonds dans six mois, mes avaldars et ecrivains ont été lui représenter qu'ils me devaient sommes considérables qui resteraient en souffrance en commetant aussi un nouvel avaldar, il leur a repondu que pour le present ils n'auraient nullement besoin de se mêler de l'exploitation, que c'était l'affaire de son avaldar pour le meme. Puisque les Domaines de la Compagnie me sont adjugés, je les ai donnés de même à ferme aux chefs des habitants de chaque paravana, non compris le Ressoum sattelavar, j'en ai leur soumission par écrit. Monsieur Devaux ne veut point entrer dans le detail ce qui en occasionnera une perte considérable dont il sera juste que la compagnie me dedommage.

Le quatre Juillet mil sept cent cinquante six.

The 250 soldiers, and 400 sepoys who went aboard the Europe ship for Tranquebar under the command of M. Goupil did not depart this evening. The reason is that, when the English were informed that help was to be sent, they replied that this should not be done, but that the Tanjore and Tranquebar people should be left to themselves, and that, if

reinforcements were sent nevertheless, they would intercept the ship and prevent her from proceeding. The Governor must have considered that, in view of the 18 months' truce, he ought not to ignore the letter. He told M. St. Paul who went to Tranquebar and the Râjâ's man (whose name I do not know) that after he had ordered the troops to embark, the Governor of Fort St. David had threatened to intercept the troops.[1] This alarmed them and they wrote to Tranquebar about it. The day on which the troops were ordered to embark, letters were sent by land to Kârikâl and Chidambaram, with orders for the despatch of 50 soldiers and 100 sepoys from Kârikâl, and 20 soldiers and 50 sepoys from Chidambaram, to Tranquebar. But letters were written the same night countermanding the orders. Two days ago, when the soldiers were sent on board, a letter was written to Tanjore, saying that, as according to terms sent home, help might be afforded to the Tranquebar people if attacked, therefore troops were being sent, and that, if the Râjâ desired peace with them and wrote to that effect, peace would be concluded. But as nothing could be decided, they kept quiet. This is what has happened.

[1] This account is based rather on conjecture than on knowledge. Cf. the correspondence, etc., *ap. Military Consultations, 1756*, pp. 212, etc., and Pigot's letter to Leyrit, *French Correspondence, 1756*, No. 39.

The washing-people reported to me to-night that Mr. Starke, the former Governor of Fort St. David, and M. Carvalho, had visited the washing-place.

Monday, July 5.[1]—At eight o'clock this morning, I paid my respects to the Governor at the Fort. The St. Paul's priest then came and, after talking with the Governor, obtained his signature to a paper. Then the writer of the Europe ship came and obtained his signature to certain papers.

The Governor afterwards went into his room and discussed with M. Chevreau and me the reply to be sent to Father Noronha (Bishop of Mylapore)'s letter from Vellore. He said, 'Bishop Noronha says that he desires Krishnâji Pandit's garden in Kadapâkkam, for which he offers to pay usual rent.' I replied, 'It is true that there is a garden-house, but I do not know the rent. I have written to the Reddi about it and will let you know on receipt of his reply.' Thereon the Governor told M. Chevreau to write accordingly.

Vijayarâma Râjâ's people were dismissed with four yards of broadcloth and other presents, and a letter.

Mr. Starke then came to take leave of the Governor. On his departure a salute of 17

[1] *25th Âni, Dhâthu.*

guns was fired. I then went to my office in the flower-garden.

Mr. Starke set out for Fort St. David this evening.

Friday, July 9[1].—I heard this morning that the Râjâ of Malabar, being at enmity with the Europeans at Mahé, had occupied the three hills round Mahé, after weakening and driving out the Europeans, and then turned the guns against Mahé, where a battle is said to have been fought.[2] So I went to the Fort at eight o'clock and presented the Governor upstairs with a bouquet. He accepted it and returned his respects, and, turning from M. Saubinet with whom he was conversing, he came to me and asked if there was any news. I said that two men were coming on horseback from Turaiyûr to visit him to-morrow morning. The Governor asked me if they were paying the instalments punctually. 'How can they?' I replied; 'They paid 14,000 rupees as a nazar by the bill of exchange you gave M. Goupil, and 4,000 rupees for peshkash instead of 3,000 gold chakrams, but he refuses to give receipts for these sums. Besides this, they have received till now 8,000 rupees. The commandants and their dubâshes are causing unspeakable troubles; and these men are coming here to

[1] *29th Âni, Dhâthu.* [2] See Logan's *Malabar*, p. 397.

complain that, for this reason, they are helpless. When Kônêri Nâyakkan, their vakîl, was returning to Turaiyûr after his marriage at Surani, he was seized at Tiruviti by M. Desvoeux and sent to M. Guillard at Vriddhachalam, until complaints of such arrest were made to you and you wrote ordering his release.. If men near at hand do such things, what will they do who are far away? These men come therefore to obtain redress by complaint. Formerly I settled that 5,000 rupees should be given to you; but now I have told them to give you 10,000 as they will gain nothing by giving to others. They are bringing horses, knowing you to be fond of them, but there will be a great difference between their prices and what you wish to pay. The loss will be half their value.'—'In that case,' he said, 'I do not want them. Let them give me rupees.' Lest they should think, if I told them, that this demand was my doing, I told the Governor that, as they had purchased horses knowing that he was fond of them, he should tell them on their arrival that he preferred rupees. He agreed. As I was leaving, M. Lenoir came, and the Governor took him into his room. As two or three other Europeans were waiting to see the Governor, I came away and went to my office in the flower-garden at nine o'clock.

50 sepoys and 30 Europeans were sent on board a ship bound for Pegu to seize some territory there. Some Europeans say that M. La Selle, the councillor at Masulipatam, will be sent to Pegu. He is talking with the Governor, but the subject of their talk remains to be learnt.

Saturday, July 10.[1]—This morning I went to the Fort and paid my respects to the Governor with a bouquet which he accepted with thanks. Then I told him that Kônêri Nâyakkan was waiting with two horses and a dress of honour. 'Tell him to come,' the Governor replied. So I took Kônêri Nâyakkan and Bâlâji Pandit to the Governor and they presented him with a nazar of 50 rupees. The Governor said, 'I ordered that you should pay M. Goupil 25,000 rupees as a nazar but you have paid him only 3,000 rupees. Why have you not paid the balance?' They replied, 'We have paid 10,000 rupees in ready money besides 4,000 as peshkash. Moreover we have arranged that a rent of 11,000 rupees shall be paid by *Âdi*.[2]' The Governor called M. Chevreau and said [in his presence] that a letter received yesterday stated that only 3,000 rupees had been paid and demanded why they had made such statements. They replied, 'Can

[1] *30th Âni, Dhâthu.*

[2] July-August.

we lie to you ? If you will make enquiries, you will learn whether our statements are true or theirs.' The Governor said, 'I do know that you have not paid the officers as you promised ; for will they write that you have paid nothing if you have really paid ?' They replied, 'We have said nothing about our kists ; that is quite a different matter about which there is much to be said. But we spoke of the sums we have paid as nazar and peshkash for which we have receipts.' Thereupon the Governor angrily told M. Chevreau that the payment of the Company's money was being hindered by the conduct of the commandants, and ordered him to write strictly to them.

The Governor then refused the horses, saying they would be of no use to him. 'Then what shall we do with them ?' they asked. The Governor said, 'I will try them for two days and if I am satisfied with them I will keep them ; otherwise I will return them.' Then he ordered his people to try the horses under saddle, and then put them up in the stables. Then he went into his room. After giving the Governor the mangoes sent by Pôlûr J'afar 'Alî Khân, I went to my office in the flower-garden.

Monday, July 12.[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning, M. Leyrit, the Governor, was inspecting the work in the carpenters' shop in company with M. Solminiac and four

[1] *1st Âdi, Dhâthu.*

or five others. I paid my respects to him with a bouquet. The Governor thanked me, and, after inspecting the making of the gun-carriages and the carpenters' and blacksmiths' workshops, he returned home and went upstairs. After sauntering a little, he read some papers with M. Lenoir. I hear that, when he was told that a few Europeans were waiting, he said nothing, so they went away. I waited about an hour, and then at half-past nine went to the office in the flower-garden.

Malayappan, the cunning Christian who went to Madurantakam, has been recalled and Maridâs[1] has been sent instead.

Seven chests of silver were landed yesterday by the ship from Tranquebar and sent to the silver mint to be coined into rupees which, when ready, will be sent to Bengal by the same ship. The silver hitherto received will produce a lakh of rupees.

Last October, at Lisbon, the capital of the King of Portugal, it rained ceaselessly night and day for a week, with earthquakes which continued all that time. There were a lakh or a lakh and a half of houses in the town which is about three square miles in extent. Every house had two or three storeys, none

[1] See Vol. IX, p. 103, n. *supra*.

had only one. This populous city formed the threshing floor for the crop of trade conducted by the French, the English, Dutch, Danes, Italians, Spaniards and other hat-wearing nations, so it contained the money and goods of all nations. Foreign merchants met with great respect, so they flocked thither. Either for the people's sins or for the King's, this great city was, by God's command, fated to be flooded with rain and shaken by earthquakes for a week. Then suddenly there was a crash underground as though ten thousand guns had gone off together. The earth was rent, all the houses were swallowed up, and water gushing forth swept away the whole town. The King, his wife and children, and the ambassadors of the various countries saved themselves by escaping to the top of a mountain, but the King was injured and all but those who had fled to the villages perished. The earth is said to have belched up flame. I will write down other details when I learn them.

Tuesday, July 13.[1]—I hear that a Moghul, bearing presents from Salabat Jang, has sent word to the Governor of his arrival at Pilachapallam. I had already heard that a Moghul was at Arcot with presents for the Governor when Salabat Jang's presents for Muhammad

[1] *2nd Âdi, Dhâthu.*

'Alî Khân arrived there ; and I think the same man must have brought both.

Wednesday, July 14.[1]—I hear that three men-of-war have arrived at Madras, and that men have been forbidden to send goods or letters to Pondichery. The Europeans at the *mêttus* have been ordered to seize those who disobey.[2]

Thursday, July 15.[3]—At eight o'clock this morning, I went to the Fort, where I saw the Governor talking to two officers, M. Solminiac and M. Charpentier. I paid my respects to the Governor.

As he seemed in a good humour, I resolved to speak of M. Desvoeux' injustice and disrespect in the country affairs, and to give him the four complaints against M. Desvoeux. Before opening this topic, I repeated the news from Madras, saying, 'On the arrival of three Europe ships, orders were issued to the *mêttus* and custom-house that no goods or letters were to be sent to Pondichery ; but I do not know

[1] *3rd Âdi, Dhâthu.*

[2] About June 2 was received news of the orders to seize French vessels and the great probability of war. The Madras Council desired Admiral Watson to prevent ships with troops on board from reaching Pondichery. It was reported that the French Company had despatched 11 ships with 3,000 men on board. *Military Despatches from England,* December 22, 1755 ; *Private Committee,* June 2, 8 and 14, 1756.

[3] *4th Âdi, Dhâthu.*

whether it will be proclaimed by beat of tom-tom. A council was held the day after the ships arrived, and a sloop despatched southwards. News is said to have been received of the arrival of men-of-war. A certain person is coming from Madras as Second of Fort St. David.[1] Mr. Clive will march to Trichinopoly and other places as commissary for war. He is only waiting for orders from Europe.' The Governor replied that he had heard the same. He thought that such orders from Europe must mean that war had already been declared or was unavoidable, and that they were only waiting for formal orders. He then asked what men were saying. I replied, 'They say that 12 French ships are coming out—8 Company's ships and 4 King's—and that 20 men-of-war which have been sent out are lying, ten in one place and ten in another. The day after the three ships arrived, a sloop was despatched to meet the others, and war is certain to come soon. They hope that Salabat Jang will be on their side owing to his dispute with M. Bussy, and anticipate grants of additional country, like the man who had a vessel of flour.[2] Some money has been

[1] This was Alexander Wynch. The intention of his appointment was to assist Clive in his civil duties as well as to relieve him in case of war.

[2] The allusion is to a story in the *Hitôpadêsa* similar to the story of Alnaschar.

advanced on the Madras contract. It was proposed to get 4,000 bales from Fort St. David, so a contract has been given for 2,000 bales with an advance of 30,000 pagodas, to three groups of merchants. In one place there is war, and in another trade.' The Governor said, 'War is certain; a trade of 30,000 pagodas is nothing and the contract has only been given to keep the Company's trade going. I have been watching the sea for orders.'

Murtazâ Sâhib (Mîr Ghulâm Husain's sister's son-in-law) came and asked for money due on the lead account. The Governor said that 200 and odd candies had been entered in my name in the accounts, and that he might therefore take the money from me. He then turned to me, and said that, as there were transactions amounting to lakhs between me and the Company, M. Dupleix had entered large sums as having been paid to me, therefore I might pay them the 7,000 and odd rupees for the lead transaction to be entered in the accounts and debited to the Company. I agreed. I told Murtazâ Sâhib I would pay him next month and dismissed him.

When I was with the Governor, he said, 'M. Boyelleau has settled the Gingee accounts and sent them here, with other papers showing arrears of 1,39,000 rupees due from the renter according to the following details:—40,000

rupees owed by the cultivators, 9,000 rupees given to the surety, 10,000 rupees given to the commandants, 44,000 rupees paid for *sibbandis* and other petty contingencies, and the balance for other items. If money is spent like this, how can the Company be paid?' I replied, 'When I told M. Godeheu at the time of the lease that money would be lost by reason of the sureties and troubles caused by the commandants unless the lessees were punished or threatened as in the days of the Moghuls, and that [country management] was quite different from trade, he told me to do as I proposed. But though I told you that matters were not going on as they should, and though I furnished you with written statements, you did nothing and this is the result. If other people are not allowed to interfere, and the commandants are prevented from causing trouble, the money will come in; otherwise it will be lost.' Thereon the Governor asked if the renters were not paying me. I replied that the renters would pay me, and I the Company. He raised his hands and asked how this money could be got. I replied, 'I agreed to pay you according to the agreement, and sublet the lands to others, allowing some margin of profit for myself. All the balance of revenue is yours and not mine. There is a difference of 20,000 rupees between the balance shown in the

account I have given you and these Gingee accounts. When I settle the accounts with the renters, I will see that the sum of 1,59,000 rupees which I have agreed to pay you, is properly accounted for. Till now you have not believed what I told you ; but the Gingee accounts have almost convinced you, and the other accounts will do the rest. You have believed what people said for selfish ends ; but if you will enquire fully, you will learn everything.' The Governor said nothing, but looked at the Gingee accounts again and again, and then said that there were arrears of 1,39,000 rupees, of which a lakh would be irrecoverable. I replied, 'If, instead of requiring me to find money, you had only compelled the renters and the sureties to pay when I petitioned you last November saying that the renters and the European sureties were molesting my managers, the money would have been paid up. But because they were Europeans, you believed them ; otherwise everything would have become quite clear to you by now.' He made no answer.

I then said, 'M. Desvoeux who has gone to Tiruviti to examine the accounts of the Tiruviti, etc., countries, wanted to have the country managed by the proprietors themselves ; so he has been discountenancing my son-in-law who was appointed to superintend

the work of the renters there. Moreover he has been telling the *nâttârs*, cultivators, and others that I shall not be left in the management, but that it will be given to him, and that therefore they may write accounts as they please. Besides this, he has ordered them to deliver to him the accounts for the arrears that have been settled, the *muchilikas* and surety bonds, and in order to make the cultivators and *nâttârs* believe him, he has tied up and beaten my people, and posted guards to seize the letters sent to and fro. He posted 15 guards to see that not even the servants spoke to my son-in-law. Among Europeans it is the custom to give food even to a man who is sentenced to be hanged, and to allow him to see the priests; but my son-in-law has been prevented even from taking food. What crime has been found in him that he should be so treated? I can neither describe nor write the difficulties [M. Desvoeux] has been causing. Moreover he tells the cultivators, *nâttârs* and lessees that they are not responsible for the rents, but that it will be sufficient if they render accounts of the collections. He has thrown away the old accounts in order to get new ones, and cares nothing that this will only bring loss to the Company. He knows nothing of the country management or accounts; but he hopes to

make money by securing the management for himself, and following the advice of that mean creature, Savarirâyan. It is indeed wonderful that he should thus forget that, in the long run, he will be held responsible. He went by order of the council only to examine the accounts and ascertain their truth ; but his eagerness to get the country has made him forget justice and act unrighteously. You know that the collections are being made by his men, and that he has prevented my people from even whispering to one another, so that they have forsaken the management lest some mishap should befall them. Yet my evil star has made you believe his letters. I have not spoken even a ten-thousandth of what has been done ; and I have not written a thousandth of what I have said.' Thus saying, I gave him a short account in four sheets of M. Desvoeux' conduct from his arrival up to July 13th, and requested him to be so good as to read it. He patiently read all four sheets and remarked that my son-in-law had been keeping the collections instead of paying them over to me. 'That cannot be,' I replied ; 'but, in any case, what business have the three people to act thus who were sent only to examine the truth of the accounts ?' The Governor replied that the cultivators had complained to them against my son-in-law.

I replied, 'It is natural for the cultivators and *nâttârs* to complain against the amaldârs. If two people go to law, one wins and the other loses; the winner says that justice has been done, and the loser that he has been wronged. People charged with the work of collections are always jealous of one another. You know everything, so what is there for me to say?' The Governor replied that he would write to M. Desvoeux and that, in future, the like should not be done. I replied, 'As you please. The troubles and blame that fall on me must fall on you also. I am known as far as Delhi and even in Europe as the Company's man, and the credit or discredit of my treatment will fall on you.'

He only smiled. I think he wishes me to feel that everything depends upon his favour. The truth is that he forgets how the mismanagement of the Company's business reflects on him; and I think his smile betrayed his pleasure at what he regarded as my supplication. Reflecting that I could only blame my evil star, I told him he must do as he thought best.

He then asked if I had heard of M. Duvelaer's death. I said, 'The funeral mass was read for him yesterday. I knew him to be clever, intelligent, and fortunate. We were friends from my father's time. He invested large

sums of money in trade during his voyage to China. After he had married your sister and was appointed director of the Company, he proved to be the ablest in speech and his words carried the greatest weight. Also the ministers were his friends. On the death of the ambassador of the King of France two or three years ago, he went to England on the Company's behalf as its ambassador about Indian affairs.[1] This shows how fortunate he was. I am sorry he is dead.' The Governor replied, 'You are right. He was 56 years old, and though he died without leaving any sons, his brothers have sons. Will they be as fortunate as he?'—'No doubt,' I replied; 'he was a true friend to me; but now is dead.' The Governor replied, 'You need not be anxious. Your friend M. Godeheu is a hundred times more influential with the Company, the King and the ministers, so your business will be done a thousand times better. M. Godeheu has had M. Dupleix confined to his house.' I replied, 'Whatever friends a man may have in Europe, his affairs here will depend altogether on the favour of the Governor.'

He then asked if I had heard of the destruction of Lisbon, the capital of the King of Portugal, by an earthquake last September.

[1] See the editor's *Dupleix and Clive*, p. 75

I replied that I had heard of it but did not know the details. He said, 'In September 1755, there was an earthquake, the earth opened, and a lakh of tall houses fell and were buried under the ground. The English lost property worth two or three crores ; and other nations too—French, Dutch, Danes, Italians, Swiss[1] and Germans—all suffered losses. Lisbon was the most important trading centre in Europe and the capital of Portugal. Lakhs of people perished. The English suffered heavy losses, and other nations also have lost from 20 to 70 lakhs. A similar disaster happened in Europe many many years ago. Italy is full of mountains, ten or twenty times as high and great as the Gingee hills ; and these sometimes burst asunder, casting forth rocks that destroy towns and villages ten miles away, while first fire and then water pours out, destroying the villages near by. Such disasters are common in Italy but not in England, France, Germany, Holland or Portugal. The Italians therefore being accustomed to them, and knowing the signs which occur two or three days beforehand, escape death by flight. But as such a thing was unknown in Portugal, people were taken unawares, and great numbers perished, though, as the shocks continued for a week, many

[1] *Suvêsu.* Perhaps the Swedes are meant, see p. 143 *infra*.

also had time to escape. Much property and great treasures were destroyed. Of all the nations, the English and Swedes suffered most.' So saying, the Governor went into his room, and I took leave and went to the office in the flower-garden. Subbâ Jôsier had predicted that I should have a long discussion with the Governor to-day, and enjoy good fortune from the 22nd or 23rd. The troubles now beginning fulfil the astrologer's former predictions; but we have still to see whether their forecasts of the future will come to pass.

When M. Bussy and Salabat Jang disagreed, the former went in May to Hyderabad in great anger. There he fell out with the killedar, slaying him and plundering the whole place and even despoiling the merchants' houses and seizing the fort.[1] Bâláji Râo's horse, Sânôji Nimbâlakar, Râjâ Chandrasênan's son, and Mulhari Holkar's troops, consisting of 20,000 horse, surrounded M. Bussy and his army and gave battle. Salabat Jang who was four days' journey on the way, also surrounded him. This news was reported in a letter written in Persian and dated at Golconda on the 4th of Shawwal[2] (according to the Muhammadan

[1] Cf. Orme. I, 431; and the interesting report of the English vakil, dated July 7, (*Country Correspondence 1756*, p. 96.) The latter says nothing of the plunder of Hyderabad; and his silence is strong evidence against its having taken place.

[2] July 3.

reckoning) and received at Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji's shop at Arcot on the 12th of Shawwal. The details are written below.

The contents of Muhammad [Tav]akkal's son's letter dated at Arcot reporting the news in the letter received at Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji's shop from Hyderabad twelve days after its despatch :—When M. Bussy was encamped at Kolêmahal[1] near Hyderabad with his 2,000 soldiers and 8,000 infantry, Rummi Khân, vakîl, was sent to Ibrâhîm 'Alî Khân, gumastah of Zafar 'Alî Khân of Hyderabad ; after some discussion, on the 29th of Ramzan,[2] they quarrelled and Ibrâhîm 'Alî Khân killed Rummi Khân. On hearing this, M. Bussy went to Hyderabad with his army, plundered the city and killed Ibrâhîm 'Alî Khân.[3] Some of the inhabitants in alarm fled with their property but others were seized and plundered. When Salabat Jang who was encamped at a place four days' journey from Hyderabad, heard this, he marched to Hyderabad with his army and 20,000 Maratha horse. M. Bussy's people are being killed as they come out of the city.

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[1] Presumably what was called the Goshamahal (*Country Correspondence, 1756*, p. 97) or the Chaharmahal.

[2] June 28.

[3] According to the English vakîl Rummi Khân stabbed Ibrâhîm 'Alî and was then himself killed.

When M. Godeheu was Governor here two years ago, rival factions among the Kaikkôlars prevented the choice of headmen. M. Barthélemy the Second tried in vain to settle the matter when he learnt of it, and finally M. Godeheu on the Second's report decided that, as he heard that the custom had been for the chief dubâsh to select the headmen in the several castes, such business should be under my management and control, and that I was to enquire into this matter and choose headmen. Thereon I sent for the Kaikkôlars. I warned them that their quarrels would ruin them, and told them that I would appoint two headmen, according to the Governor's orders, and that they must obey them. They agreed. However, lest men should say that I intended to make such appointments at my pleasure if, after a little while, I merely recorded the appointment among the Choultry records, I again summoned the caste-people and directed them to name persons agreeable to them for my approval. On this, one party named Âna Nâyakka Mudali and the other Muttu Mudali, promising to obey them and begging my acceptance of them. I then asked them all if these men were agreeable to them, and, on their confirming the choice, I gave two yards of broadcloth to each of the two, and, after distributing *pân supârî* among the caste-men, dismissed them, warning them that the new headmen must be obeyed.

Friday, July 16.[1]—At eight o'clock this morning, I went to the Fort, and paid my respects to M. Leyrit, the Governor, with a bouquet, which he took and smelt. He remained in the great hall on the south. Then Kônêri Nâyakkan, the Turaiyûr vakîl, came and salaamed. The Governor asked if the 25,000 rupees had been paid to M. Goupil. Learning from Kônêri Nâyakkan that it would be paid in four or five days, and that he would also arrange for the peshkash due, I repeated this to the Governor and added that the Turaiyûr people had paid 20,000 rupees already, and that they had been told to pay 10,000 rupees more, of which 5,000 rupees would be paid in a week and the balance later.

The Governor then asked if I knew whether the Tranquebar and Tanjore people had agreed together, as was reported. I said it was true that there had been an agreement to pay a certain sum on account of a temple which had been demolished, but that the sum had not been paid and that therefore new preparations were being made for war. 'Is that so?' the Governor said, 'I had not heard anything about it.'

The Governor then said, 'There is not a single shroff here who can advance a lakh or

[1] *5th Âdi, Dhâthu.*

two in an emergency.' I replied, 'Of old, Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji, Vallabha Sundar and Gôvardhana Dâs all kept gumastahs here; but only Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji does so now, owing to the unhappy turn of events under Pâpayya Pillai's management in M. Dupleix' time. When M. Bussy sent a bill of exchange for a lakh of rupees, M. Dupleix delayed and refused to pay it. On M. Godeheu's arrival, he too refused to pay. Thereon it was resolved that no more bills should be drawn on Pondichery nor should any drawn here be honoured.' The Governor said that it was not M. Dupleix' fault but M. Godeheu's, and that, when he had learnt of it, he had written to Masulipatam asking M. Moracin to pay the bill. I said that I had not heard of this, and asked when it had taken place. He replied that it was after M. Moracin's departure. I asked if the money had actually been paid, and he said that he had not yet heard of it. I continued, 'The old shroffs in the town lost all confidence, and you alone can restore it. Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji is coming to Madras by way of Arcot. Please write him a suitable letter to be sent along with mine.'—'Very well, I will do so,' the Governor said, 'but I think this cannot help us to a lakh or two now. Where can we find it?' Fearing to be misunderstood, if I said plainly that foreign merchants had lost all faith in

the town, I replied gently that the present difficulties were all due to that sort of feeling, but that I would write and do my best.

Then three chobdars arrived one after another in about a quarter of an hour with three packets of letters wrapped up in wax-cloth and sealed. M. Lenoir opened the packets in M. du Bausset's presence, gave the Governor his letters, and distributed the rest to others. His face fell as he read M. Bussy's letters from Golconda. I think the letter may have brought news of disturbances at Golconda. News has come already that Ellore, Rajahmundry, Chicacole, Mustaphanagar, etc., places have been seized. At this time more letters came, and the Governor went in to read them. I went to the office in the flower-garden.

Saturday, July 17.[1]—A chobdar came and said that M. Leyrit, the Governor, had given a gate pass to admit the Moghul (whose name I do not know) bringing a palankin, a horse and letters from Salabat Jang, and that he had said that the Moghul should be accommodated in the building I should select for him, receiving the usual batta. I sent the chobdar back with a message that the Moghul should stay at the old Company's house which had been got ready for his lodgings. I hear that

[1] *6th Âdi, Dhâthu.*

only a chobdar was sent to meet the mansabdar from Salabat Jang because he had brought letters ordering Muhammad 'Alî Khân to be put in possession of the Carnatic subah and all money to be paid to him.

Sunday, July 18.[1]—Some 50 or 60 years ago, when Samadara,[2] son of Aurangzîb visited Calcutta, the English chief so pleased him by his lavish welcome that he granted the English a sanad for the place. When this was sent to Europe, orders were made that all the accounts were to be settled and that the place was no longer to remain under the control of Madras. So it has been till now inhabited by wealthy and respectable persons. But the news is that in a conflict between the English and 'Alî Virdi Khân [3], the Nawâb of Bengal, the English have been expelled from the city which the Nawâb has occupied. The causes of the conflict are still unknown. I will write them down hereafter.

Tuesday, July 20.[4]—Hearing that M. Leyrit, the Governor, was busy writing letters about the despatch of troops to relieve M. Bussy

[1] *7th Âdi, Dhâthu.*

[2] I suppose Azim-ush-shan is intended, grandson (not son) of Aurangzîb.

[3] It seems odd that the news of Siraj-ud-daula's succession had not reached Pondichery.

[4] *9th Âdi, Dhâthu.*

said to be surrounded in the Hyderabad fort by Maratha horse and Salabat Jang's army, I did not go to the Fort.

I hear that 640 soldiers, and 200 sepoys under M. Saubinet were sent to-day aboard a ship with orders to go to Hyderabad and relieve M. Bussy by way of Masulipatam. I also hear that the English have sent four ships with 900 soldiers and some sepoys against the Nawâb of Bengal who has seized Calcutta, their port in Bengal, and caused disturbances. People say that these English troops have been despatched to Hyderabad to help Salabat Jang; but I believe that they are really being sent against the Nawâb of Bengal, who has seized their town. So I have written accordingly.[1]

Monday, July 26.[2]—As it was M. Barthélemy's wife's name-day to-day, M. Leyrit, the Governor, and others attended a feast lasting the whole day at M. Barthélemy's garden. So I went to the office in the flower-garden and came home at noon.

It is said that, owing to the likelihood of war, 10,000 people are being brought in from the country to repair the fortifications at

[1] There was a considerable struggle in council over these alternative destinations at a later time. See the editor's *Dupleix and Clive*, p. 123.

[2] *15th Âdi, Dhâthu.*

Madras.[1] Even Brâhmans, as I hear, are being enlisted, and the Company's servants are not allowed to enter the Fort, while Lingha Chetti, who was half-way to Cheyyûr to inspect the choultry which he is building, was intercepted by people from Madras and taken back immediately, and the alarm in Madras is indescribable. It is also said that Muhammad 'Alî Khân is going to Madras with 100 soldiers, 200 horses and two guns, and that the merchants there are removing their goods to safe places in the jungles.

Tuesday, July 27.[2]—At seven o'clock this morning, M. Leyrit, the Governor, was walking up and down the great hall which runs east to west on the south side of the central hall. M. Solminiac, M. Charpentier, and two other officers were there and M. Cornet was talking to the Governor. When he had departed, I went and paid my respects to the Governor who smiled at me half a dozen times. So I expected that he wished to talk to me. He shortly after dismissed all who had come to see him, all the while looking at me; and then, when he had gone into his room, and removed his coat, he called me and said that the Vriddhachalam cultivators wanted to take

[1] The fortifications had scarcely been touched since 1749. "Their principal settlement remains in much the same defenceless condition as when the French left it." Watson to Cleveland, July 2, 1756. (R.O. Adm. 1-161).

[2] *16th Âdi, Dhâthu.*

the lease of their country. I replied that they were renting it under the supervision of my son-in-law. The Governor then asked why M. Guillard had written thus. I replied, 'One Adivarâha Mudali rented it last year, but the *nâttârs* have it now.' He continued, 'M. Boyelleau said—and his accounts proved it—that the cultivators were too poor to pay the rent, let alone the balance of over 1,30,000 rupees due from the country. Besides, how can Nârâyana Sâstri, who has not a cash, pay?' I answered, 'The Maratha troubles and the last ten years' plunder have ruined the country. Where 200 families used to live, now there are not 20. Men who owned 100 cattle do not now own four; and ryots who could have tilled 20 cawnies cannot now till one. The lands therefore lie uncultivated; while the people have been scattered by the troubles. Some labour as coolies or carry muskets; many have fled; and the few that are left have lost their labourers and can scarcely cultivate any land at all. Moreover what cultivation there is has been hindered by the interference of the commandants, so that the amaldârs, in spite of their troops, cannot manage the country or collect anything either by kind words or threats or force or fine or any other punishment. Thus large sums have fallen into arrears and the *beriz* has not been

realised. Even the amounts collected have not yet been paid in, so that there has been loss in many ways. You know all this, and any one who knows the state of the country will tell you the same. The amaldârs have no property and only pay what they have collected from the country. They cannot pay such large sums from their own pockets. No one here is rich enough. Cultivation is like alchemy, bringing money out of earth. In some parts the crops will suffer from want of rain, or other accident; so when the leases are given, sureties are required; and the leases themselves are given for three years or four, so that the renter may make good in one year what he loses in another; and the sureties may recover in a good season what they have had to advance in a bad one.

'Accordingly I leased out the lands, taking substantial Europeans as sureties. But then you gave orders that the Europeans should not be required to pay anything. This involved me in heavy loss. The accounts from the districts will explain the whole matter. The sureties not only failed to pay the sums they had guaranteed, but also mismanaged affairs, misappropriated the collections, and allowed their people to do the same; yet in the face of all this, they still complained that money was due to them;

and though I showed you the accounts, yet you believed them and ordered me to pay, so that they received from me the money which had been collected in the country and which should have been paid to the Company; and when I demanded the rents from the amaldârs who had taken leases on European security, the Europeans complained to you instead of paying. Thus all the money has gone to them. But if the collections are thus dissipated, what can I do?' The Governor asked how the sums thus lost could ever be recovered. I replied, 'Last year's rents were half as much again as those of the year before; and this year's are greater than last year's; this annual increase was intended to make the farmer encourage cultivation and increase the revenue—the object with which leases are given all the country over. After three years of management under Pâpayya Pillai and Rangappa Mudali, the country was put into my hands in the month of *Mârgali* of last year. Last harvest and the harvest before were good; but this season, in spite of good rains, has been ruined by the gentlemen's mission. You can learn the whole by enquiry.' The Governor asked if the commandants had got much money. I replied, 'Did I not present to you in writing an account of the troubles they had caused, their demands on the amaldârs for

money, the loss on the crops, and the cultivators' sufferings? And did you not send them orders? Nevertheless they persisted in their conduct for the sake of gain.'—'Perhaps,' the Governor said, 'I should pay in the nazars I have received.'—'Why so?' I asked. 'The ancient customary expenses are shown for each village, the whole country and for contingencies. These items of expenditure are not new. You should not think of such a thing. Out of the collections, money is found for beggars, dancers and travellers; and this money is again recovered by additional collections. This has been going on ever since the world began. You need not therefore be anxious about it.'—'But,' the Governor objected, 'people will say that there is a great difference between the money you collected in the country, and what you pay in for the Company.'—'They cannot,' I replied. 'Out of the country collections, not more than about a lakh will have to be accounted for, when the cost of the establishment and the payments to the Company have been brought to account. The truth of what I say will be clear in ten days.'

He then asked about the diamond business. I replied, 'When I offered it to you the other day, you angrily told me to keep it. So how am I to blame?' The Governor remained

silent for a while, and then went into his room, so I came away.

Then the uncle, Chenji Chetti, and the brothers of Guntûr Venkatâchala Chetti, who has died, came to see the Governor. I took them in, and desired him speak kindly to them and bestow presents on them. When he enquired what should be given, I explained that it should be a piece of broadcloth; and on his orders, I prepared a note which he signed. When I had made ready the broadcloth, *pân supârî*, and rose-water, I said that they hoped to have a salute of three or five guns. The Governor replied that no one could have a salute but me, and asked what had been the ancient practice. I said that that honour was reserved for the Company's courtier alone. 'In that case,' the Governor said, 'why did you mention it?' I replied that I had only reported their desire out of affection for them, and at the request of M. Boyelleau.

At that time M. Boyelleau himself arrived in high spirits and went with the Governor into his room, where he remained till a quarter to twelve. He then went home dejectedly.

I then took Chenji Chetti (Guntûr Venkatâchala Chetti's uncle) and his brothers Rangappa Chetti, Râmânjulu Chetti, Narasinga Chetti and the Company's merchants to the Governor, and gave them rose-water, *pân supârî*, and

a piece of broadcloth. The Governor asked if these formed the whole of Guntûr Venkatâchala Chetti's family. I told him that there were ten others at home. The Governor said, 'He was a good man. If these will behave like him, I will do what I can for them.' They were then dismissed.

Kâlavây Kumara Pillai, Ella Pillai and Kandappa Mudali came and complained that Bâpu Râo had dug up all their lands for betel cultivation, so the Governor called me and said that I must enquire into the matter and duly settle it.

He continued, 'They want to stop the floods. You had better go and arrange for it in the suitable manner. I hear they are destroying the jungles; see that they do not do so.' Then I came out.

Guntûr Chenji Chetti and the Company's merchants asked me to visit Venkatâchala Chetti's house. I acceded to their request, and, after presenting them with a shawl and other gifts, I came home.

M. Boyelleau set out this evening for Tindivanam to examine the accounts. When this was discussed this morning, the Governor said that the matter might be settled on the return of the three gentlemen who had gone to settle the accounts. He then went into his room.

Thursday, July 29.[1]—At eight o'clock this morning I went to the Fort where I saw the Governor in the large eastern hall with M. d'Auteuil and other officers and M. Lenoir, the councillor. After M. d'Auteuil's departure, the Governor showed M. Lenoir and M. Solminiac an account contained in two sheets of paper. M. Mauricet produced two small notes, which the Governor returned after reading, and went into his room with M. Lenoir, taking with him the account which he had been discussing. I waited till nine o'clock, and then, as I was going to the office in the flower-garden, Kandappan, the Governor's servant, told me that all the Vellâlas had presented a petition to the Governor complaining that some [Panisavans][2] had been beaten by Vinâyaka Pillai and imprisoned by the Second at his request; and that the Governor had sent them away, saying that he would inquire and that justice would be done by the Second. [Kandappan] observed that the Governor had answered thus as the Second was responsible for justice, and added that he would speak about it confidentially. 'Very good,' I said, and went to my office in the flower-garden.

[1] *18th Âdi, Dhâthu.*

[2] The Madras transcript has *Tunisavan* which is meaningless. For the *Panisavans* see Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*, Vol. VI, p. 55.

AUGUST 1756.

Tuesday, August 3.[1]—At eight o'clock this morning, I went to the Fort and paid my respects to M. Leyrit, the Governor, when he was talking with M. d'Auteuil, M. Lenoir and some officers. Later on I again paid my respects to him and he nodded cheerfully to me. Guruvappa Chetti who was there said that the Governor, looked as though he wished to talk to me about his private business. Before I could say that I thought so too, the Governor after glancing at me half a dozen times, called me, and asked if there was any news from Arcot. I replied I had heard that about half the Europeans at Arcot and 20 or 22 cannon had been brought down to Madras, and that Khair-ud-dîn Khân[2] who had carried Salabat Jang's letter to Mr. Pigot, Governor of Madras, would remain there till news was received about the prospects of war in Europe. The Governor replied that he had heard that a fortnight ago. I said that negotiations were going on between Arcot and Madras and that no new business would be taken up until the old one had been settled.

[1] *23rd Âdi, Dhâthu.*

[2] Cf. *Military Consultations, 1756*, p. 251 and references to the *Country Correspondence* there noted.

The Governor then desired me to arrange the purchase of the diamond weighing 90 odd *manjâdis*, and another of 70 odd *manjâdis*. I replied, 'When I told you about the diamond of 70 and odd *manjâdis*' weight, you disbelieved me and refused to buy it, so that the merchants had to wait for five months in great vexation, as the peons who had escorted them had gone away. But at my request the merchants are still here and I will consult them and let you know.'

The Governor then said, 'I want six pieces of flowered black chintz. Find and buy them, or, if they are not to be had, get them made for me.' So saying he wrote and signed an order which he gave me. I received it. As M. Barthélemy and the other councillors were reported to have come for a council, the Governor went to the council hall. The councillors say that, as no ships have yet arrived, though it is the beginning of August, the meeting must have been called for political and not for commercial business. I went to my office in the flower-garden. The council sat till eleven o'clock; I do not know what the business was, but, when I learn, I will write it down.

Wednesday, August 4.[1]—When the Governor with others was watching the grand parade

[1] *24th Âdi, Dhâthu.*

outside the Fort this morning, I paid my respects to him. When the troops had been dismissed, the officers, etc., went upstairs with the Governor, and I followed them. M. d'Auteuil showed to the Governor the letter written to him by the sergeant at Tiruviti, saying that he had stopped 50 matchlock-men who had gone to seize grain at Sôluvelli. The Governor called me and asked about it. I replied, 'It is true that the cultivators at Sôluvelli refused to deliver the grain, so I sent 50 matchlock-people to seize and bring it to Pondichery. They were sent by me personally but not from here.' The Governor said that what had taken place was in accordance with his orders to seize matchlocks, wherever they might be found, and that, in future, I should get passes from him for any that I sent out. I said I would do so. M. d'Auteuil interposed and said that, if I would send a man, he would give an order for the release of the 50 people. I agreed.

The Governor then asked if the amaldârs at Tiruviti had hindered the soldiers from catching fish. I replied, 'The sale proceeds of fish go to the Sarkar according to the lease. Fish can be had for money.' The Governor said he would order fish to be paid for, and bade me direct my people to provide as much dried and fresh fish as was needed for ready

money. I agreed. He then told me to call M. Chevreau and desire him to write to the sergeant at Tiruviti, telling him that the fish required must be paid for. I did so, and the letter was written.

M. Chevreau then said to the Governor, 'Hasan-ud-dîn Khân's son and Anga Pillai are still in prison for the former's debt of 19,000 rupees to Husain, the mahout, in the elephant business, as M. Desvoeux decided that both were responsible for the 19,000 rupees; Hasan-ud-dîn Khân's son has paid 15,000 rupees; the merchants are said to be willing to stand surety for the 4,000 rupees due from Anga Pillai. Shall we release them?' The Governor then turned to me and said that the merchants would take time to pay, and that he would release the prisoners immediately, if I agreed to pay the money in 15 days. I agreed, and he asked Husain, the mahout, if he would accept this settlement. He objected that the original sum itself was 19,000 rupees. The Governor said that a man should be satisfied with recovering a debt which had been looked on as almost desperate, without requiring interest; and that he should be glad anything was offered him in such troublous times. Husain, the mahout, after a little hesitation, agreed on my explaining to him that, if he let this opportunity slip, he would get

nothing. The Governor then told him that I would pay him 4,000 rupees in 15 days, and, calling the captain of the guards, directed him to release the prisoners, as was accordingly done.

Husain, the mahout, then told the Governor that this was a small affair, but that Pâpayya Pillai still owed him 25,000 pagodas. The Governor expressed surprise at so large an item. The other said that he had petitioned about it a dozen times and even shown his bond to the Governor, and wondered that he should speak as though he had never heard of it before. I did not interpret this, but only explained that he desired the Governor's assistance in recovering the money from Pâpayya Pillai. The Governor told me to receive it [? the bond] and said he would enquire about it later. I promised Husain, the mahout, that I would pay him the 4,000 rupees in fifteen days, and sent him away. M. Chevreau brought a note in French for the 4,000 rupees I had promised to give and desired me to sign it. I did so (having taken a copy of it), as Chinnayya Pillai (Wandiwash Tiruvêngada Pillai's son-in-law) had given me a bond for this 4,000 rupees. The Governor went in, and I went to the sorting-godown where I found Râmachandra Râo.

A peon then came and informed us that a small Europe sloop had come in without saluting and sent a letter ashore for the Governor. When the catamaran-people, he added, asked the captain whence he came, he threatened them with his knife unless they ceased questioning him and carried the letter at once to the Governor. I think troubles must have arisen in Europe ; I will enquire and write what it proves to be.

Sunday, August 8.[1]—At half-past seven this morning, I went to the *Gouvernement* to see M. Leyrit, the Governor. M. d'Auteuil and other officers were talking with him. When I paid my respects, he came up to me. I said that a letter had been received from Arcot reporting that Khair-ud-dîn Khân (Muhammad 'Alî Khân's brother-in-law) who had gone to Madras, had returned to Arcot in a palankin with 100 soldiers, 100 sepoys and three officers; no one yet knew how his business at Madras had been settled.

I then said :—'150 soldiers with cannon, powder and shot, have been sent on board each of four ships at Madras ; and these lie at gunshot distance each from the next. Provisions and water are being carried into the Fort and even the soldiers are being made to work as

[1] *28th Âdi, Dhâthu.*

coolies day and night. So some merchants have removed their goods to places of safety and others are trying to do so. 400 sepoys and 50 soldiers under an officer have marched north for an unknown destination. This is the news from Madras.' The Governor asked how many ships lay at gunshot distance one from another. I said that all four did.

The Governor afterwards put on his sword and went to church. I went to the office in the flower-garden.

Wednesday, August 11.[1]—At half-past seven this morning, I went to the Fort. M. Guillard remarked that I had not visited him since his return from Srîrangam. I replied that I had gone to him four times but that twice his Topass dubâsh had said that he was busy and twice that he was not at home. He reproved his servants for not having informed him of my visits; and then, turning to me, said, 'Be patient. It will take four months to investigate the complaints of injustice at Srîrangam, and, in two months, you may rest assured of it, country and people will have been lost. Since M. de Leyrit became Governor, the commandants and Europeans have been doing great injustice, so neither town nor country has prospered.' I replied that it was no use

[1] *31st Âdi, Dhâthu.*

to blame the Governor, and added, 'The times are bad, and hence these misfortunes. But from the first of *Âvani* [August 13], prosperity will rise and the Governor will acquire glory and understanding. Consider what has fallen out between M. Bussy and Salabat Jang, to what shame the English have been put, and the course of events in Bengal and Bombay. Are they not evidently declining?' He replied, 'Seven or eight months ago you said that all the hat-wearing peoples would suffer adversity from *Chittirai*, and accordingly the Tranquebar people had to put up with their loss and make peace with the Râjâ of Tanjore. The earthquake in Europe destroyed Lisbon, the capital of Portugal, and all the hat-people suffered great loss. What you have said has come to pass. I must see what will happen.' I replied, 'I was told that I also should be in difficulties, as indeed came to pass, but that from the 1st of *Âvani* he, [the Governor] and I should be prosperous. We shall see what happens.'—'True,' he said.

I then presented to him Kônêri Nâyakkan, the Turaiyûr vakîl, and said, 'You have been appointed commissary in the Turaiyûr affair, so be pleased to enquire into the wrongs done by the commandants, and render justice.' He replied, 'When M. Marion left Turaiyûr, the

Turaiyûr Reddi purified his house with cow-dung and showed great disrespect both to him and to the French nation. I must therefore take the Reddi to task. I have written asking M. Marion to return to Turaiyûr.' I replied, 'He gave a receipt for 10,000 rupees when he had really received over 20,000. M. Tilly got 10,000 rupees and M. Medé [?] 1,000 in money and as much in plunder. What can be done, if, when you are desired to enquire and settle affairs justly, you say thus?' He said that, if these things could be proved, he would decide as [the Turaiyûr people] wished. I told this to Kônêri Nâyakkan and informed M. Guillard that the Turaiyûr vakîl would visit him at his house to-morrow morning. After dismissing Kônêri Nâyakkan, and taking leave of M. Guillard, I prepared to go to the *Gouvernement*; but M. Lenoir who was talking with M. Guillard, said I must arrange for Guntûr Bâli Chetti to visit the Governor with presents. I told him that he[1] had not mentioned it to me. M. Lenoir said, 'He mentioned it to me the day before yesterday, and I told M. Leyrit who said that he would see to it. It is your business, so it must be managed through you. Let us go and see M. Leyrit.' I agreed and we went upstairs. M. Lenoir said that, if I got

[1] Bâli Chetti?

an order on M. Bertrand for four yards of broadcloth, he would obtain the Governor's signature to it. So I had an order prepared. M. Lenoir went to the Governor, saying that he would talk to him first and then send for me; but as the Governor did not agree, M. Lenoir did not send for me. As it was late, I went in, and presenting the order to the Governor, said Guntûr Bâli Chetti had come, and asked if he would therefore sign an order for four yards of broadcloth to be given to him. The Governor refused as it was contrary to custom, and gave me back the order. M. [Lenoir] winked at me to show that he had been unable to do anything in the affair. So I explained to the Governor that, if he as Governor would not show respect to the Company's merchants and others, nobody else would respect them, and offering the order again to him, I requested him to sign it, on which he consented and did so. Having obtained the order and sent for the broadcloth, I presented Guntûr Bâli Chetti and others to the Governor who remained silent. Bâli Chetti and others also remained silent. So I spoke words of compliment and gave them the broadcloth. They took leave and departed. I also took my leave and went to the office in the flower-garden.

Friday, August 13.[1]—At half-past seven this morning I went to the Fort and paid my respects to M. Leyrit, the Governor, who was talking in the great hall on the east adjoining his room, with d'Auteuil and others. The Governor called me and said that he had ordered it to be published by beat of tom-tom that, if pigs were found either in the newly levelled ground each side of the town gate, or near the Bound-hedge, they should be killed and carried away, and the owners fined or otherwise punished. I approved. He then questioned me about the Madras news, the repair of the Fort, etc., after which he went in, and I went to my office in the flower-garden.

Saturday, August 14.[2]—I visited the Governor at the Fort this morning. The Second (who has gone out to his garden) and the councillors met to consider the letters received yesterday evening from Bengal and Masulipatam. The Governor was present also. The Secretary immediately came to me and said that the Governor wanted to talk with me as soon as the Council had broken up; so I waited at the sorting-godown. When the Council rose at half-past ten, I went upstairs where the Governor was talking with M. Guillard. M. Barthélemy who was there

[1] *1st Âvani, Dhâthu*

[2] *2nd Âvani, Dhâthu.*

came up to me and said, A letter has come saying that Qâsim Pâdshâh [*sic*] the Nawâb of Bengal, has seized Calcutta, the capital of the English in Bengal, with all the goods in the factory there, imprisoned the Europeans he found there, and plundered the town. The Governor and the councillors have therefore fled from the city with their treasure, and have taken refuge in a ship in the Ganges, while the Nawâb is plundering the whole city and pulling down the European buildings. The troops sent up from the coast have not yet reached Calcutta; on their arrival they will attack and capture it; but even then, they will find nothing there but corpses, so that hereafter the place will have little attraction for them.' Thereon I asked M. Barthélemy the causes of this war. He replied, 'Alî Virdi Khân, who was long Nawâb died five or six months ago and his younger brother's son immediately succeeded him. The French, the Danes, the Dutch and others in his country, visited him with nâzars, but the English did not, saying that they would only do so when he had received his parwâna of confirmation from the Pâdshâh.[1] This conduct on the part of men who were only tenants under him exasperated the Nawâb,

1 But Cf. Hill's *Bengal, in 1756-67*, Vol. I, p. xlviii, and references cited there.

so he has seized their city and done them all this damage. When they lost Madras, they could borrow a crore of rupees to continue their business, as they still had the city of Calcutta ; and they have not yet repaid that loan. What other town have they where, in time of need, they can borrow one or even two crores ? All wealth centred there, and no city of India could be compared with it. But now that they have lost their wealthy city, they will hardly be able to continue exporting the silk yarn and cloth, the shawls, and the other produce of Bengal. Their day of prosperity is over and they cannot endure much longer.' I replied, 'By the destruction of Lisbon, the capital of Portugal, the English suffered great losses. Now too they have lost much. The Angrias and Marathas are attacking Lemba,[1] so there is trouble there. Amidst all these misfortunes, the English can scarcely prosper on this coast.' He answered that the times were so bad as to involve all the hat-wearing people in troubles. 'True,' I replied, 'the Tranquebar people have suffered troubles, the like of which they had never known before. The Dutch too have suffered great losses and their trade in India has

[1] Alluding, I suppose, to the differences following the capture of Gheriah. But the text must be corrupt. Perhaps Bombay is meant. Cf. Duff's *Mahrattas* (ed. 1912), ii. 97, etc., and Forrest's *Bombay Sel.* (Maratha Ser.), i. 115, etc.

declined. As for the Portuguese, their capital has been destroyed. There are troubles in the Masulipatam country, so what you say is true.' Afterwards he took leave. M. Delarche, M. du Bausset and other councillors also took leave and departed.

The Governor then called me and said, 'The two sons of Akkal Nâyakkan have been brought to me by the St. Paul's priests. I propose to make them poligars in Tiruviti, etc., villages and present them with four yards of broadcloth. What do you say?' I replied, 'I do not know the whole of their history; I have heard only a little about them and what they themselves have told me. Kullama Nâyakkan and these two are kinsmen. I must learn more about them before I say anything. I cannot make rash promises, for, if I appoint and send them, Kullama Nâyakkan may create disturbances in our villages which will disturb our cultivators and hinder our tillage.' 'What shall we do, then?' the Governor asked I replied, 'The affair will only go smoothly if we first send for and question Kullama Nâyakkan, and hear what he says. Otherwise there will be trouble.' The Governor agreed, and told me to send for the men, first removing the broadcloth he had meant for them. Sadâsiva Reddi (who married the daughter of Muttiya Pillai's concubine) brought them.

They presented a nazar of 21 rupees. The Governor said that he had told me everything and that I would settle their affair if they went with me. We then took leave, and on our way I met the Second going home to dinner. I paid my respects to him and came home.

Sunday, August 15.[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning, M. Leyrit, the Governor, had returned from mass and was upstairs watching for ships. When I had paid him my respects, he said, 'In the Tirukkôyilûr affair, Muhî-ud-dîn Sâhib and Gurumûrti Ayyan refused to acknowledge Abu Muhammad as amaldâr, and stopped and hurt in mistake for Abu Muhammad's people M. Dubon and seven or eight European guards who had gone thither. I have already warned you not to employ Europeans, and I must blame you for doing business through these men.' I replied, 'The Europeans were not hurt, nor were they my sureties. Formerly Vasantarâya Pillai and Gurumûrti Ayyan were my managers. The first was a very able man. On his death, I appointed Abu Muhammad, accepting a Tamil as his surety. As a difference arose between Abu Muhammad and his surety, I ordered that, until the difference was settled, Abu Muhammad should not do the

[1] *3rd Âvani, Dhâthu.*

duties of an amil. The difference was then made up. On learning this, I gave a letter. But before this letter arrived, Abu Muhammad's and the surety's men who had gone there complained to M. Aumont that they have not been appointed amaldârs. Instead of saying that it was not his business, M. Aumont troubled Muhî-ud-dîn Sâhib and Gurumûrti Ayyan as well as the killedar, took their letters and hurried to you, before I could complain to you, with false complaints about what happened, so that he might not be blamed.'—'No, they lie and have beaten the Europeans,' the Governor said. I replied, 'Who can believe that Tamils have beaten Europeans? The latter beat the former who were too terrified to stir; and then, after doing as they pleased, are making these complaints which you believe. So what can I say? This is what the commandants were doing formerly to the ruin of the country; though their conduct and the losses which ensued were only ascertained by the councillors' tour of investigation. Should they continue to do so, affairs cannot prosper.'

The Governor then asked about the complaints made by the Olukarai people. I replied, 'For 14 years M. Dupleix leased out the country to the cultivators; but when they

were asked if they would renew their lease, they refused on the score of their severe losses. Besides, some of the partners had gone away. So on their refusal the people of the out-villages took the lease. When the former complained to me, I tried to explain matters to them, but in vain. The country was managed by some of the people of the out-villages, with the help of two Christians. Now these people come again and offer to manage the country. As they are the tenants and are anxious to have it, they may, but they have no right to it.' The Governor then told me to summon them, and came out of his room. The ryots then were introduced to the Governor who asked them what they had to complain of. They replied, 'Under the old lease, the Company allowed us for our private advantage certain lands on which money is still due to us; and as was shown by the declaration made by the Europeans at the *Greffe*, we were entitled to a share of the profits on the garden-crops. When we informed M. Godeheu of this, he offered an allowance of 1,000 pagodas on this account. At first we refused to accept this, but later agreed to continue the lease on condition that this sum was allowed us. We never received the amount, however, as the renters of the out-villages interfered, and we were told that, if we did not accept the lease, they would. The

Reddi Christians who are partners with Kumara Pillai maliciously did this to prevent us from taking the lease, which they wanted for themselves in partnership with Kumara Pillai. Now they say they will refuse us land which we used to rent at 25 pagodas unless we pay 56 for it. So therefore we, the heads of 100 or 150 households, have come to lay the whole matter before you and then depart whither we please.' The Governor replied, 'You refused the lease in spite of all that was said to you; but now that there are other offers, you come and demand it for yourselves. I must hear what the other side has to say. Come again to-morrow, when I will see them and let you know my decision.' Thus he dismissed them, telling me to order them to come again to-morrow.

Monday, August 16.[1]—The Europe ship which went to Mocha arrived back at two o'clock to-day with a cargo of goods. A salute of 11 guns was fired when the captain landed. M. Boyelleau's wife's son[2] came. Trade has not thriven.

The news brought by the Mocha ship is as follows:—The chief of the Dutch factory at Mocha received news that war had been

[1] *4th Âvani, Dhâthu.*

[2] Boyelleau had married the wife of another Company's servant, Le Faucheur.

declared between England and France on February 23. He informed the French of it, and added that M. St. Georges, the captain of the King's squadron, had left France with twelve men-of-war, before the declaration of war, and M. Dupleix with a few ships after it. Immediately therefore the captain sailed with the 2,200 bags of coffee already on board, leaving everything else, and not even waiting for the moneys due to be collected.

Wednesday, August 18.[1]—When I paid my respects to M. Leyrit, the Governor, this morning, he was talking with M. d'Auteuil and some other gentlemen in the great hall. Endapalli Krishna Râo had given M. d'Auteuil a French account for over 1,300 rupees, being the arrears of pay for one month and a half of the Company's sepoys posted at Villupuram, Kallakurichi, Kachirâyanpâlaiyam, Tiruppâlaippandal and Tiruvarangam, etc., places. When M. d'Auteuil gave this to the Governor, he said that these sepoys had been sent to protect my country. On this the Governor called me up and asked me about it. I replied that they had been sent by M. Saubinet and that all I knew was that they were posted at the said places. 'Really?' the Governor

[1] *6th Âvani, Dhâthu.*

asked. 'Yes,' I replied. Thereon the Governor, taking the account back from me, took it to M. Chevreau's *comptoir* where he signed and gave it to the peon from Villupuram who had been waiting for the pay.

M. Marion who had come from Turaiyûr visited the Governor and gave him an account. The Governor read it but said nothing about it. Afterwards he called M. Lenoir and went into his room at nine o'clock. I waited about half an hour at the sorting-godown; M. Boyelleau and his writer then went to confer with the Governor; and as M. Guillard wanted me, I went and talked with him. He said that he would set out for Srîrangam on Monday, having been delayed by ill-health; he mentioned the Mocha news about the coming of ships and the return of M. Dupleix which he could not believe; and added that his wife's health was improving. When M. Guillard was leaving, Kônêri Nâyakkan, the Turaiyûr vakîl, paid his respects to him and said, 'M. Marion arrived to-day. Be pleased to ascertain how much money has been received from us and what has taken place, and render justice by punishing whoever is guilty.' M. Guillard said that he would certainly do so. Thereon the vakîl replied, 'When M. Tilly left Turaiyûr before, he carried away all the idols to Ulaganallûr. Be pleased

to get them back from him.' M. Guillard said, 'Give me a written complaint to be shown to M. Leyrit, so that they may be recovered.' The vakîl agreed and we went to the office in the flower-garden. I hear that M. [ ] stayed talking till noon and then went home.

Thursday, August 19.[1]—At half-past seven this morning, I went to M. Leyrit, the Governor, who was sauntering with M. d'Auteuil in the great hall which runs east to west on the southern side. M. Solminiac and three or four other officers were there when I paid my respects. The Councillors, M. Barthélemy, M. Guillard, M. Miran and M. Lenoir had come, but not M. Boyelleau. The council-room was then opened. M. Barthélemy and the Governor walked up and down together leisurely for about a quarter of an hour and then went in. M. Lenoir said that M. Boyelleau was too unwell to attend. The Council broke up after eleven o'clock. I hear that it met to consider the letters from M. Moracin at Masulipatam, from M. Bussy, and from Mahé. I do not know what M. Bussy says, but the peons report the following news:—'M. Law and M. Saubinet could only march a certain distance with the army sent to relieve

[1] *7th Âvani, Dhâthu.*

M. Bussy at Golconda as the route was obstructed. They therefore halted at Bezwada which is on the other side of the Kistna.[1] M. Bussy and Salabat Jang have entered into an agreement. M. Law will take the place of M. Bussy who will return to Pondichery, and Haidar Jang (Coja Qalandar Khân's son) will be delivered to Salabat Jang. A Moghul noble is on his way to conduct M. Law.' The truth of this news will be known later on.

Afterwards I went to the sorting-godown and thence to my office in the flower-garden where I had directed the Olukarai ryots to meet me. Krishnappan (Morâri Râo's vakîl) brought me a letter from Morâri Râo. It says:— 'I learn that Sau Bhâji Râo has been seeking to trouble M. Bussy and oblige him to depart, in order that he may join the English and make Salabat Jang do as he desires. When I was at Sâvanûr with Muzaffar Khân, and Bhâji Râo attacked us, Salabat Jang wrote to M. Bussy the whole matter. The latter did not believe him but attacked us; and when our affair had been settled with Bhâji Râo, Salabat Jang was incited to anger and hatred against M. Bussy. The Carnatic subah has been confirmed in the name of Muhammad 'Alî Khân besides the promise of Ellore,

[1] The march was delayed by heavy rains. Orme, II., p. 95.

Rajahmundry, Chicacole, etc., countries, on condition of English help. I shall march thither if you order me, and we may capture the whole of the Carnatic and Chicacole, etc., places and then seize the whole country that side of the Kistna.' Krishnappan added that Muzaffar Khân had also written to the Governor and sent a dress of honour, which the Governor had received. Krishnappan then departed asking for a reply to the letter. Morâri Râo's letter also says that Salabat Jang has requested him to send help against M. Bussy, that he has sent Muzaffar Khân with a small army, that he has acted in all things with a due regard for the future and that he will do what we may desire. Such are the plans men frame in these troubled times. What will happen remains to be seen.

Saturday, August 28[1].—When I went to the Fort this morning, M. Leyrit, the Governor, was walking up and down the southern hall upstairs. I paid my respects, and reported to him as follows what Krishnappan, the Mysore dalavâi's Brâhman vakîl, had told me of the occurrences in *Âdi*, 25 days ago, between the Râjâ of Mysore and Nandi Râjâ, the *Sarvâdhikâri* of dalavâi Dêvarâjâ :—Nandi Râjâ and Dêvarâja Udaiyâr said that, in consideration

1 *16th Âvani, Dhâthu.*

of the Râjâ's youth, they had got him married and installed him on the throne ; but that, in return for this, hearkening to evil advice, he had sought to imprison or destroy them and appoint others in their place. They therefore resolved to kill him and place on the throne a boy of five, born of his[1] daughter. Venkatapati Ayyan, the *Pràdhâni*, who had ill-advised the Râjâ, was seized four months ago and imprisoned in a hill fortress, and the palace guarded. But the Râjâ induced Shabaz Khân (Haidar Nâyak's elder brother) to quit service, and secretly gave 50,000 gold pieces to Kandê Râo[2] to be given to them[3] in order to collect troops, and men with whom to attack the fort the next day. Knowing this, Nandi Râjâ and the dalavâi Dêvarâja Udaiyâr, ordered the fort gates to be closed and troops to be on the watch all night. Guns were mounted on the walls facing the palace, and the infantry, Europeans and Topasses, who were hired at Trichinopoly, were posted on the walls. The other troops were posted all round the palace. Thus they prepared to kill the Râjâ the next morning. But at once the Râjâ, the 300 members of the royal family, his priest, some Sûdra nobles, his dalavâi, wealthy kinsmen of his father's, a

[1] *i.e.*, Nandi Râjâ's. See Wilks' *Mysore*, Vol. I, p. 220.

[2] Kandê Râo was Haidar's writer or *mutasaddi*. Wilks' *Mysore* Vol. I, p. 217.

[3] Apparently the two brothers.

thousand in all, sallied forth with drawn swords, and a battle ensued in which 500 fell on either side. The dalavâi Nandi Râjâ's troops retreated and the Râjâ withdrew to his palace; Nandi Râjâ then fired all the guns mounted on the walls, slaying men, women, female servants, and others, a hundred persons in all, and then Nandi Râjâ and Dêvarâja Udaiyâr entered the palace and ordered all the Râjâ's people who survived to be seized and imprisoned. They also resolved to kill the Râjâ, but Krishna Râja Udaiyâr's wife, who had brought him up, clung to him and vowed that they should kill her first. After much talk, they decided to imprison the Râjâ, his son and his wife and the woman[1] in the palace, under a guard of Nandi Râjâ's people. When the Nânâ's vakîl learnt of this, he went to Nandi Râjâ and said, "Are you justified in taking up arms against the Râjâ? It is not well for you to do so. When Nânâ Sâhib learns this, he will visit you heavily." Nandi Râjâ then sent men to bring the Râjâ out of the fort, which they did accordingly. Immediately afterwards the Râjâ sent a letter to the Nânâ by four camel messengers, reporting what had happened. The place has since

[1] Krishna Râja Udaiyâr's wife.

been so closely guarded that men cannot pass to and fro.'

After I had reported this to the Governor, he said that the commandant at Ulaganallûr had written that a certain man there had killed another, and asked me if I had heard of it. I replied, 'A Hindustani fowler, who was bringing in fowls with a cooly, stopped at a smithy for fire for his tobacco. As the cooly had gone on, the Hindustani, in anger, gave the blacksmith a fanam to fetch him back. When he was brought, the Hindustani demanded why he had gone on, and gave him four stripes, after which he took another cooly and went on to Kallakurichi. Two or three days later the beaten cooly died, on which the commandant imprisoned the Hindustani. This is what has been written to me.'—'Was the man a cooly?' the Governor asked. 'Yes,' I replied, and asked if the prisoner should be brought here or left where he was in prison. The Governor remained silent.

M. Chevreau then came in to see M. Cornet. It appeared that the former had asked the latter to bring some broadcloth, velvet and cloth of gold. They talked about certain matters, and the Governor went into his room, while I went to my office in the flower-garden.

This afternoon M. Boyelleau sent for me. On my arrival, he said, 'I told Râsi Pandit

whom you sent to me, to bring the accounts showing the total rents, the sums paid and the balance due in your pargannahs of Wandiwash, Tindivanam, Karunguli, Villupuram, Suppur, Gingee, etc., that have been placed under my management. He has written these accounts for the Gingee and Wandiwash pargannahs. See if they are correct.' I said they were. He then asked why the izaradar had refused gratuities and contingencies. I replied, 'This is nothing new. It was allowed by the Nawâbs of the Carnatic, but they have given a bond for the payment, though it is not generally paid by the lessees but by the renters. The izaradars and sureties thought that, if a European like you took the matter to the Governor, it would have to be paid, though they did not like paying me. You know that the Europeans have reported to the Governor against the sureties. That is why matters are in their present state. Now they are willing to pay, so they have stated that so much may be entered.' M. Boyelleau said, 'This must be settled one way or the other in the council, so that there may be no more trouble and affairs may go on smoothly. A complaint must be put in about the way in which the commandants have troubled the sureties.' After talking for a long time, he remarked that the Europeans were very clever and intelligent at accounts,

but the Tamils were ignorant and backward. I replied suitably, and took leave and came home. Before I left, he said that I must give in accounts on Monday and come when he sent for me. I said I would do so, and came home.

Sunday, August 29.[1]—I went to the Fort this morning and paid my respects to M. Leyrit, the Governor, who had heard mass with the Second and the officers, and was with them upstairs. M. Boyelleau said to the Governor in my hearing, 'Malayappan, the cunning Christian who has been sent to the Karunguli country owing to disturbances there as the Europeans' dubâsh, had sent sepoys with a letter to demand 300 rupees from Muttu Venkatarâma Reddi. The sepoys worried him so much that he has written to his vakîl Ichâsi Pandit about it. The latter has complained to me.' The Governor sent for M. Tobin who is in charge of the affairs there. When he came, M. Boyelleau said, 'No orders can be given but by me or Rangappan. How can he[2] write or send sepoys and cause annoyance without permission? Affairs are being ruined because every man is doing as he pleases.' The Governor felt this and told M. Tobin to send for the dubâsh.

I then said, 'When some Marakkâyars were loading ships with goods at Porto Novo, and

[1] *17th Âvani, Dhâthu.*

[2] Malayappan.

the ships were about to sail, a Malay who was cutting his nails with a knife suddenly got up, stabbed five able and inoffensive Marakkâyars and jumped into the water. The lascars jumped after him and seized him, and he is now in prison in Porto Novo. One of the injured men has died; I do not know if the others will.' The Governor told me to write about it and ascertain how such a thing had happened, and then went into his room. I took leave, and went to my office in the flower-garden.

SEPTEMBER 1756.

Wednesday, September 1.[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning, and visited M. Leyrit, the Governor, he was talking with two or three officers. He looked pre-occupied. I waited till nine o'clock and came away when he had gone into his room.

I hear the following :—A German came last night and informed the Governor that the German officer named M. Lambert who arrived from Turaiyûr five or six days ago, had excited disaffection among the German and French officers and formed a party of soldiers and Topasses with whom he meant to desert. The Governor ordered the immediate seizure and imprisonment of the German and the officers. Five or six men were arrested last night [by parties] with torches. When I was in the Fort, the German, Lambert, with another officer and a party of four [French] and four German officers were brought to the Fort and imprisoned separately, and with guards on each; after which M. Pichard, the commander of the Germans, on his way from imprisoning the aforesaid men in the Fort, came to me and asked if I would buy his carriage. I said I certainly would, if he would sell it. He said

[1] *20th Âvani, Dhâthu.*

he would let me have it at cost price. I offered 300 rupees ; but he said he could not sell it for that, and went to the Governor to report the news. The man who accompanied him told me that he had just placed the officers in prison. It was then eleven o'clock, so I went to the office in the flower-garden.

Friday, September 3.[1]—This morning I went to the Fort and visited M. Leyrit, the Governor. He was talking with M. d'Auteuil and M. Pichon. After a little while, he took me aside and said, 'The officer at Vriddhachalam writes to me saying that the people of four villages have run away. If people run away like this, how can money come in? Do you know anything about it?' I replied, 'What ! Don't you know what the officers there are like ? Nevertheless I will enquire and let you know.' He remained silent.

Hyderabad news was contained in a letter from Arcot written after the arrival there of a letter that had been 14 or 15 days on the way from Hyderabad. I reported its contents to the Governor as follows :—'When M. Law was on his way to join M. Bussy, the latter ordered him not to proceed direct, but to march towards Bhavanagiri fort[2] and drive away Salabat Jang's forces sent thither to seize M. Bussy's

[1] *22nd Âvani, Dhâthu.*

[2] Probably the place 25 miles N.E. by E. of Hyderabad.

and Haidar Jang's treasure lodged there. Therefore M. Law marched towards Bhavanagiri and put Salabat Jang's army to flight. He then set out to join M. Bussy. But Muzaffar Khân, Munawar Khân and others attacked him, inflicting on him severe losses. 200 Europeans and 100 sepoys were killed, many sepoys fled and a few guns lost. M. Law then joined M. Bussy with 300 Europeans, two guns and the few sepoys that remained. Hearing this, Salabat Jang opened negotiations. Muhammad 'Alî Khân had been joyfully collecting forces to send to Salabat Jang. But when he received a letter with this intelligence, he lost heart and hope, and stopped the assemblage of troops, saying, "See how daring and ferocious are the French! Where a battle should be fought with a lakh, or at least 40,000 horse should be sent, the French advance with 500 people and beat off first the army surrounding Bhavanagiri and then the army sent to prevent reinforcements from reaching M. Bussy. Thus the French have joined M. Bussy with 300 people. These men are bold indeed." He is downcast at this event.'

On this the Governor sent for M. d'Auteuil and informed him of the news, desiring him to procure the letter. He then turned to me and said, 'Since M. Law and M. Saubinet went together, why has not the latter's name been

mentioned ?' I replied, 'That is because people only know M. Law.' M. d'Auteuil said, 'This is no great feat. Rangappan's army dispersed a lakh of horsemen and the whole army of Razâ Jang,[1] killing a prince as great as Tahmasp Qulî Khân, and tying *tôranams*[2] in Conjeeveram when Nâsîr Jang was at Arcot. Compared to that, this is nothing.' I then related in detail all that M. d'Auteuil had done when Nâsîr Jang attacked Gingee, and what Nâsîr Jang had done in return. The Governor listened without remark.

He then asked me if any money would come in from the country. I replied, 'Why not ? The *kambu*[3] and *manakattai*[4] will be harvested and money will come in. The crops should be protected. M. Boyelleau and M. Guillard have ordered the money to be paid to me and directed me to communicate with them about it. But M. Desvoeux has ordered nothing to be done without his knowledge, but informed neither me nor my people of what he is doing.' The Governor listened to me, but remained silent. I continued, 'The renter must be a very careful man, oiling his eyes and taking pains to secure the rent. He must be careful to collect the arrears and the current

[1] A slip for Nâsîr Jang.
[2] *i.e.*, taking possession of.
[3] The spiked millet, largely grown in Southern India.
[4] *Vide* note 2, p. 232, Vol. IV.

amount, and see that cultivation is not hindered. Skill is needed to manage this business. But what can be done if the cultivators are allowed to do what they please with the crops, required to pay only what they offer, and manage affairs as they will?' The Governor could not give a proper answer but asked me when I would bring my accounts. I replied, 'M. Desvoeux has written all the accounts but ordered that they need not be given to me. So I must collect all the accounts received on various occasions and examine them before I bring them. This will take me ten days.'

The Governor then asked the name of the man who had just come in. I replied that he was Sanjîvi Râo, against whom Mîr Ghulâm Husain's son-in-law yesterday laid a complaint for debt. Thereon the Governor asked him why he had not paid the money. Sanjîvi Râo replied, 'I am Muzaffar Khân's writer, and there is Muzaffar Khân's house and other property as security for the debt I owe him.' Thereon the Governor told me to settle this matter and the land affair about which a peon had come with a complaint. He then went in, and I went to my office in the flower-garden.

I told the Governor that there was news from Arcot that Salabat Jang had given to Muzaffar Khân Sîrpi subah and fort; to

Munawar Khân (younger brother of Himâyat Bahâdûr Khân of Kandanûr), the Nizâm's jaghir; and to Muhammad 'Alî Khân's son, a mansab of 3,000 horse with a jaghir.

Sunday, September 5.[1]—I went to the Fort this morning and presented the Governor with a bouquet on his return from mass, when he was upstairs with the Second and others, and told him of the glad news of M. Bussy's and M. Law's reconciliation with Salabat Jang. The Governor said that he had already learnt of it; but when the Second asked what the terms were, he replied drily that M. Bussy had come to an agreement. [The Second] then asked me; but I could not say more than the Governor, and answered that M. Bussy had come to terms with Salabat Jang. The Second then said a few words about it, but the Governor showed no interest; and then the Second gave the Governor a letter he had in his hand and went home. I went to the office in the flower-garden until a peon came and said that the Governor wanted me. On my arrival, he said, 'M. Lambert who is in prison is the man who came here from Sîrpi to raise soldiers and an army for the Nawâb. He has at Sîrpi 40 Topasses and soldiers from here[2] and has made a full confession. Find two

[1] *24th Âvani, Dhâthu*

[2] Probably French deserters.

messengers and give them 10 pagodas for their expenses; they must not know of his imprisonment, nor should any know of their errand. I will write a letter to be sent along with the two letters written by the prisoner. Get these sealed up, and give them to the messengers with what they need for their own expenses and those of the men they are to bring.' So saying, the Governor wrote a letter, put it along with two others, which he sealed and gave me, ordering me to send two Brâhmans. I said, 'I have already given you a French letter about M. Law's march to join M. Bussy against Salabat Jang. Negotiations are being carried on by M. Law, and when M. Bussy, M. Law, Bahâdûr Jãng and others went to visit Salabat Jang, the latter sent Mîr Moghul (his younger brother), Shâh Nawâz Khân, Muhammad Anwar Khân (the Pâdshâh's bakshî), Mubâriz Khân, Râjâ Chandrasên's son and other nobles to meet them with the usual respect. It was decided that both parties should be at peace, and that Chicacole, Rajahmundry, etc., countries and the Carnatic subah, given in jaghir for the expenses of the establishment, should be continued as before. The Muhammadans swore on the Qurân to observe this, and the Europeans on the Gospels, and the Marathas on powdered saffron and rice. When these oaths had been taken by all, it was declared that each should

continue in possession of the country actually held, that M. Bussy was not to interfere in the management or peshkash and that he must confine himself to his cavalry and military, and his countries. M. Bussy then returned to his place. This took place on August 22, and presents were given on August 23. This news, written to Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji's shop at Arcot, arrived from Arcot at eight o'clock last night. The Governor said that he had heard this from the merchants' man who visited him last night to whom he had given a present of six rupees for the two people that had brought the letter. I then took leave and went to the office in the flower-garden.

There I heard that grocer Nallatambi Arunâchala Chetti had died at ten o'clock. Immediately I sent Mêlugiri Chetti and Chokka Mudali. They went and said to Râmakrishna Chetti, 'Arunâchala Chetti has died owing large sums to Pillai Avargal. When he was told eight days before his death about the money due to the Company, he said that he would settle it when he was better. Now that he is dead, who will pay the debt?' Râmakrishna Chetti replied, 'It will certainly be paid. Arunâchala Chetti's elder brother's son is in charge of everything. After the funeral ceremonies are over, the accounts will be

examined and the debt paid.'—'Should he[1] not say so?' they asked. Thereon a lame Ayyangâr who was on the pial of the opposite house was sent to fetch him. Kanakasabhai Chetti[2] came and Râmakrishna Chetti said to him, 'The master sent first Mêlugiri Chetti and Chokkappa Mudali, and then eight days ago Sêshayyangâr; Arunâchala Chetti said that he would settle the affair when he was better, but God willed otherwise. Some one must be responsible for the accounts and money.' Kanakasabhai Chetti replied, 'Accounts have been kept up-to-date. I am the legal heir, besides there is my father; I will certainly settle the account, and if the amount runs at interest, I will be responsible. Let the Pillai Avargal be pleased to protect me.' These polite words were heard by Arunâchala Chetti's gumastah who listened to this conversation from the opposite pial, Ella Pillai (younger brother of Tiruvêngadanâtha Pillai who had gone northwards to purchase goods), and other Chettis, who are witnesses to this conversation.

Wednesday, September 8.[3]—The *Sîmantham Kalyânam*[4] of Chiranjîvi Appâvu[5] was celebrated to-day with magnificence. As Appâvu was getting better, he was able to fast.

[1] Arunâchala Chetti's elder brother's son.
[2] Arunâchala Chetti's elder brother's son, Vol. VI, p. 75, *supra*.
[3] *27th Âvani, Dhâthu.*
[4] *Vide* note 1, p. 139, Vol. IX.
[5] Son of the diarist's younger brother Tiruvêngada Pillai.

Ennapalli Krishna Râo came and reported the Fort news as follows :—'A letter which was found by the sentry post was shown to four men and lastly to a European who gave it to the Company's peon who, in turn, gave it to the Governor. The latter read it. Perhaps somebody (none knows who) has written false complaints against the Governor, but it is not known what those complaints are. On reading the letter, the Governor grew angry and showed it to M. Desvoeux and two or three Europeans. The peon was sent for and asked who had given him the letter. The peon mentioned a European who was sent for and questioned. The latter mentioned a Topass sentinel who, when questioned, said that he had found the letter in a niche when he opened the Fort gate and that he had shown it to a few. The Governor was angry with every one and ordered that, in future, messengers must be detained until he had read the letters they brought.'

A ship which arrived this evening from the Maldives has brought a *Jôgi*[1] with the Râjâ's letter and presents for the Governor, and letters, presents and a mat for me.

Thursday, September 9.[2]—Sêshâdri Pillai being unwell, I sent to Chingleput this morning Kanda Pillai who arrived yesterday from

[1] Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *Jogee*. [2] *28th Âvani, Dhâthu.*

Kârikâl for the marriage, Kanakammâl, Tirumalai Pillai and Chiranjîvi Ayyâswâmi. I then went to Fort where the Company's merchants' unbleached cloth and the Kârikâl merchants' fine cloth were being sorted in the presence of the Second and M. Miran to whom I paid my respects. While I was there, the Maldives Râjâ's gumastah brought the Râjâ's letter, two mats and some coconuts. I took this man to the Governor and arranged for his visit with the two mats and the coconuts. The Governor took the letter but remained silent without even greeting the man.

Just then M. Miran came and said that there was a great difference between the fine cloth formerly supplied by the Kârikâl merchants and that now received, and desired the Governor to come to see it. He went down at once to the sorting hall and ordered the *kunjams*[1] to be counted, saying that he would see to it to-morrow, when it had been done. He was still there, however, at ten o'clock when he said that the cloth should be 14 *kunjams* and asked how many *kunjams* it was. They said 13. Thereon the Governor ordered four or five pieces more to be examined. He continued talking to the Second from half-past eight to half-past ten, but I do not know what they were talking about. When I went to the Fort,

[1] A measure of the width of cloth, being 120 threads of the warp.

M. Lenoir said that all the money in the chest had been spent and that there was no money for this month. I said, 'There is God.' He departed after going and talking with the Governor. I think the conversation must have been about money. Later M. Cornet and the European accountant at the Fort, M. Miran, and the Second were talking together. The Governor then went upstairs, and I to my office in the flower-garden.

Monday, September 13.[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning and saw the Governor, he was upstairs with M. Tobin. The Governor asked whether any of my amaldârs in the disputed Karunguli country had been imprisoned for ill-behaviour. 'It is true,' I replied, 'that formerly I appointed amaldârs and managed affairs. Then there were the English troubles when M. du Rocher was sent as commissary to put down the disturbances. The amaldârs reported that, on his arrival, he proclaimed that his orders must be obeyed. I also wrote that they must obey M. du Rocher and that they would disobey him at the peril of their lives; and the amaldârs replied that they were obeying him. More than once I repeated my directions to obey him. I have the amaldârs' letters and copies of mine, and

[1] *1st Purattâsi, Dhâthu.*

there is also M. du Rocher's letter, and by these the whole matter will be made clear.' M. Tobin asked if they were my amaldârs. I replied, 'I certainly appointed the amaldârs and these obeyed their orders. So what can I say?' The Governor said, 'You are right. I now tell you that you may appoint your men and manage all affairs there, and report the news to me direct. Tell this to the gentleman.[1] Examine the previous accounts and tell me.' I replied, 'This is an affair touching the English troubles, and so a gentleman should be in charge of it.' The Governor said, 'Don't mind that; you must manage the affair from to-day and report the news to me regularly. You may send the people now imprisoned to manage affairs or you may send new amaldârs to manage.' I replied that different people should be sent. Thereon the Governor told me to appoint new amaldârs. I said I would do so. M. Tobin was then given leave. The Governor then said, 'M. Boyelleau tells me that cash like the Pondichery cash are being minted in Tiruvannâmalai. Here are some of them. What do you know about this?' I replied that I had heard of it. 'Why has such a thing been done?' the Governor asked. I replied, 'Pondichery cash exchange here at 64

[1] Apparently Du Rocher.

but outside at 40 or 45.[1] By this many people make a living.'—'What should be done?' the Governor asked. I said that he must write to demand why they had coined cash like ours. The Governor went in, having given me three or four of those cash. He further told me to enquire about it and report to him, and that he would write afterwards. He then said that, as he had some business to attend to, I could go home. So I took leave and came home.

Tuesday, September 14.[2]—I went to the Fort this morning and saw the Governor. He was sauntering upstairs. M. Boyelleau arrived with vakîls and others to prove that the commandant of Gingee had employed his sepoys and guards to collect a rupee from every traveller in defiance of the order not to collect a cash from anybody. The Governor took him at once into his room. So I went to my office in the flower-garden.

Friday, September 17.[3]—When I went to the Fort this morning, M. Leyrit, the Governor, and councillors were in the sorting-godown examining the fine cloth while the Second attended

1 *i.e.*, to the fanam. Variations in the value of copper frequently upset the currency standards of the Coast settlements. In the present case the Pondicherry cash was overvalued, and cash were being coined presumably for exchange into Pondicherry fanams In 1724 it had been undervalued and could not be kept in the settlement. *Del. du Cons. Sup.* ii, pp. 28 and 127-128.

2 *2nd Purattâsi, Dhâthu.*

3 *5th Purattâsi, Dhâthu.*

the Choultry court. M. Desvoeux was examining the white Bengal cloth. Meanwhile M. Bussy's letter was received reporting the peace that had been concluded between him, M. Law and M. Saubinet on the one side, and Salabat Jang on the other. As a sign of joy, a salute of 21 guns was fired.

M. Boyelleau then brought the Villiyanallûr people and reported to the Governor their complaints that the commandant of Villiyanallûr had forbidden drums and music to be played, on the occasion of marriages or funerals, unless nazars were given and his consent obtained. A strict letter was therefore written forbidding this new practice to be introduced. Twenty-two bales of fine cloth were packed. The Governor then went upstairs ; so all went home and I to the office in the flower-garden.

Saturday, September 18.[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning, I saw M. Tilly examining the Bengal cloth. The Governor and councillors who had heard mass at the church and offered thanksgivings for the peace concluded between M. Bussy and Salabat Jang, went upstairs and congratulated one another while the drums beat. I paid my respects to the Governor with a bouquet. He asked the Choultry writers what rates were

[1] *6th Purattâsi, Dhâthu.*

charged at the customs office on paddy brought in from Villiyanallûr. Monigar Alaga Pillai said, 'Rangappa Mudali paid three *per cent.* for customs, and a half *per cent.* for charity and the dower of poor girls—3½ *per cent.* in all. After M. Godeheu's arrival it was resolved to remit the Valudâvûr revenue, and to collect one *per cent.* extra from all the rest. This is being collected, and at this rate 4½ *per cent.* is levied on paddy from Villiyanallûr.' The Governor asked the retail market-dues in the country. '6¾ *per cent.* for retail,' he replied. Guntûr Râmânji Chetti said that part of this was the allowances of the Nayinâr, the Gôpâla temple, and the country writers, and the balance was the Company's. 'How much does the Company get ?' the Governor asked. The monigar replied that 1¼ *per* 100 pagodas went for the miscellaneous items and 5½ *per cent.* remained for the Company. Kandappa Mudali said that that was one pagoda more than formerly. The Governor said, 'That was allowed because Rangappa Mudali managed business for the Company. But you are lessees, who cannot therefore expect the same concessions.' Râmânji Chetti said that they also were the Company's people and that such a decision was not just merely because they had leased these dues. The Governor said that he would consider the matter and

give orders, and then went to his room. I therefore went to the office in the flower-garden.

Sunday, September 19.[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning, I found assembled there the councillors, officers, writers and other Europeans. I paid my respects to the Governor with a bouquet, and a nazar of 100 pagodas for the peace concluded between M. Bussy and Salabat Jang. This is to be celebrated by a banquet, for which tables were laid in the open rooms upstairs. I said that God would bless him with much more like news. The Company's merchants gave a nazar of 100 pagodas; Kônêri Nâyakkan, the Turaiyûr vakîl, 21 pagodas; the Nayinâr 120 pagodas including the present for the marriage; the Kârikâl Company's merchants 42 pagodas; Vinâyaka Pillai 5 mohurs, and then all paid their respects to the Governor, who afterwards sat down to table.

Periyanna Mudali said to me, 'M. Desvoeux, M. Delarche and M. du Bausset were talking the day before yesterday at M. du Bausset's house. When they had gone, I asked M. du Bausset what M. Desvoeux had said. He told me that you would not in future exercise authority over the taluk which

[1] *7th Purattâsi, Dhâthu.*

M. Desvoeux managed, for the latter had sent *tâkîds*, signed by himself, to his amaldârs directing them no longer to obey your people; and had explained his rights to the Governor who had promised to write ordering the collections to be delivered to him.' He added, 'The council will meet again in four or five days. Why should we do nothing? Shall I inform the council that the money for the Cheyyûr affair has not yet been paid?' I replied that I would settle this on my return from Valudâvûr in two or three days. Periyanna Mudali continued, 'I will call on you again. Please visit him[1] at his house, and I too will speak to him again about our affair which I have requested him to settle favourably.' He then departed. I sent for Râmânji Pandit and told him to go to M. Boyelleau, show him copies of my petitions to the Governor and explain to him what had happened and what M. Desvoeux was doing.[2] Then at ten o'clock I went to the *agrahâram* near my choultry at Tiruvêngadapuram, where Kônêri Nâyakkan, the Turaiyûr vakîl, was to give me a feast.

M. Desvoeux obtained a parwâna from the Governor yesterday besides eleven separate orders for the Tiruviti, etc., Panchmahals,

[1] One of the councillors is evidently meant – probably M. Boyelleau.
[2] On the 7th Ranga Pillai wrote a long letter to Boyelleau. See appendix.

Chidambaram, etc., Panchmahals and Sivapattanam—11 taluks in all. They contained particulars of the taluks and ordered the amaldârs, *nâttârs* and cultivators to obey Pâpayya, dubâsh of M. Desvoeux who had correctly examined their accounts, to pay him the amounts due and to remain under his orders. The copy was also to the same effect.

A salute of 21 guns was fired to-day when the Governor heard mass at the church on account of the festivity.

Monday, September 20.[1]—At six o'clock this morning I returned from Tiruvêngadapuram and stayed at home instead of going to the Fort. M. Boyelleau sent for me in the afternoon. I went to him in the evening and he said, 'I have to pay the usual rent for the taluks under my management, so warn the amaldârs and tahsildârs strictly not to waste a single cash of the harvest or pay a cash to the *sibbandis*, but to collect the arrears due from cultivators, before they allow the cultivators' share to be sold, and to send the money to me immediately. I will also do the same. See that money is paid in without delay.' Immediately I told Râmânji Pandit to write letters with the help of Muttu Pillai (M. Boyelleau's dubâsh) who said that he needed

[1] *8th Purattâsi, Dhâthu.*

paper. After some reflection he[1] said that he had no paper to spare for writing to the country as he only got a few sheets as he wanted them, and that he could not therefore give any. However at last he reluctantly gave him two sheets and, turning to me, said, 'An *izara beriz* is mentioned in the Wandiwash, etc., taluk accounts. Is this the Company's *beriz* ?' I replied that it was not, but was the *beriz* settled between me and the izaradars and that the amount settled between me and the Company was quite different. He replied, 'Is that so? I thought all along that it was the Company's *beriz*, as it was so written, and had all the accounts made up accordingly. I must therefore tear them up and write new ones. The accounts which should have been written by a man on four rupees a month under your Râmânji Pandit have all along been written by me.' Thus he spoke for about an hour in great dissatisfaction with his dubâsh and others, and grew angry with them. I observed, 'Why get angry with them ? I must answer to the Company, but are not the people in the country answerable to me ? That is why they have written as if I were the Company.' He replied that what I said was true, but that he had not realized it till now. His anger having

[1] M. Boyelleau.

abated, he then called the European who had assisted in writing the accounts and said, 'These accounts have to be torn up and written anew.' He answered angrily, 'How can we do it? If we wrote and signed a paper now to the effect that the amount already paid was not on account of the Company's *beriz*, but was the sum due to Rangappan from the izaradars after settling the accounts, and that we had not known this till to-day, your reputation would be hurt, as knowing nothing about it.' I remained silent thinking that he might do as he pleased.

He then asked me why the Villupuram ryots had not come. I replied, 'You cannot expect them. They are people who could manage a lakh of pagodas' worth of country. Under the Muhammadan government, they often quitted the country and went elsewhere. They should be induced to come by having a settlement made with them, and not forced to come here. If this is done, the ryots will desert their country in confusion.'—'No,' he said, 'I will write a strict letter. You must also write a *tâkîd* for them to be seized and brought here.' I ordered a letter to be written accordingly.

He then said, 'When Chandâ Sâhib's son's presents were brought to-day for the Governor, I looked for you everywhere. Why were you

not present? The Governor complains that you don't wait upon him, that whenever he sends for you, you send word that you are unwell, that you spend your time riotously in the company of dancing-girls, while he has to wait upon your convenience, and you do not attend to your duties in the Company's business by being near him to answer his calls. What do you say?' I replied, 'In *Chittirai* and *Vaigâsi*, I was unwell, so I could not attend on him. Whenever I went and spoke to him, he neither replied nor listened to me with interest. M. Lenoir, M. Dumas and M. Dupleix valued my words much and opened their minds freely to me. I conducted myself to their satisfaction. But the present Governor never allows me to approach him. So what can I do?' He replied, 'People are of different temperaments, and you should not mind such things. You must go to him often and try your best, considering that everything is the work of time. You must not behave as you have done till now.' He then gave me leave. I departed and had all country letters despatched.

Wednesday, September 22.[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning, the Governor was upstairs with the councillors. I paid him my respects with a bouquet and waited. The

[1] *10th Purattâsi, Dhâthu.*

Moghul (I do not know his name) who came from Salabat Jang with a complaint against M. Bussy has been waiting here these two months without an audience. But news having now been received of the conclusion of peace between Salabat Jang and M. Bussy, the Governor ordered the Moghul to be summoned to an interview for the purpose of presenting the letters he had brought. The Moghul did not arrive till half-past ten and I took him to the Governor. He presented the Governor with a dress of honour worth 40 or 50 rupees and embraced him. The Governor, who was sitting on the sofa in the central hall of the private suite, offered him a chair and made him sit down. He did so and, taking two letters out of a laced bag—one for the Governor and the other for the King of France—placed them before the Governor, saying, 'By the grace of God and your good fortune, a treaty has been concluded between Nawâb Salabat Jang and M. Bussy. Although, therefore, the letter I have brought has become needless, yet be pleased to read it and send me back with an answer.' The Governor replied, 'It is certainly my good fortune that peace has been concluded. I will give a reply.' He then turned to me and said, 'This letter is addressed to the King of France. Need we send it now?' I replied that, as the letter had been

written when there were troubles, and as peace had since been concluded, there was now no need to send it. Thereon he gave me his letter and told me to report its contents. It says, 'Long ago, when Ilâyat [*sic*] Muhammad-ud-dîn Khân Muzaffar Jang left Pondichery, M. Dupleix sent M. Bussy with him with an army on condition of his paying 1½ lakhs of rupees a month. I continued to pay this sum accordingly. When news came that Ghazî-ud-dîn Khân was marching to attack me, I ordered M. Bussy to collect forces and promised to pay him two lakhs of rupees a month. M. Bussy had conducted himself to my entire satisfaction; therefore I managed all affairs by his advice as the chief man. While at Masulipatam, he wanted that country to be assigned for his pay. As the treasury was low, I assigned to him the five mahals of Chicacole, Rajahmundry, Ellore, Murtazânagar, etc., yielding a revenue of 32 lakhs of rupees a year. Thereafter he asked me to give him Mustaphanagar on condition of his paying its value. I gave him this place accordingly, yielding an annual revenue of 7½ lakhs. When four years had elapsed, he wanted it to be granted him for thirty years. [When I read this portion, the Governor said, 'Surely that country does not yield so much. That is only the nominal revenue.'] Although this large sum was due

from M. Bussy, yet I took no notice of it, considering his good conduct and services. But after Coja Qalandar Khân's son had joined him, he no longer treated me with his former respect, but assumed state and spoke as though I was his inferior. Even then I passed over his language and showed him due respect. But when I was halting at Golconda, he posted guards to seize me, and, coming to me, said, "You are too poor-spirited to be fit to be my master." I replied to him calmly in spite of this insult; but as I learnt that he intended to seize me by treachery, I strengthened myself, and, having passed Sâvanûr and Bankâpuram without violence, I induced him to depart and gave him his dismissal. I have also ordered the country assigned to him for his pay to be resumed. In future I will write to you when I stand in need of your help. Please write recalling your people in my country.' The Governor listened to all this and thought that it was not advisable to send the letter to the King of France. He then gave the Moghul rosewater and *pân supârî* and dismissed him.

He then sent half a dozen times for M. Desvoeux and talked with him. I think that he spoke to him about the country under my management. He then asked me about the *kambu* crop in the country. I said I knew nothing about it, as the country had not been

under my management these four months. M. Desvoeux said, 'I know that; but the country managed by M. Boyelleau and M. Guillard is still under your management and your people are there.' I replied, 'No doubt my people are there, but they have to obey their orders and not mine.'—'True,' he said, 'but as your people are there, you cannot but know the *kambu* yield. So tell me.' I said I would tell him the day after to-morrow. 'No,' he said, 'the Company has not a single cash; you must tell me to-morrow.'

He added, 'I hear that the man called Contoir[1] at Kallakurichi has been misappropriating all the collections there, and that as the renter owed the German commander 26,000 rupees, the latter has been carrying away the money. Do you know anything about this?' I replied, 'The izaradar of that country is Abu Muhammad, with another man as surety. This is all. I have never talked with Europeans. I hear that the surety has been sent for. Let somebody be sent. When I was in charge, I demanded money and obtained proofs; but they had no fear. If you will give me proper orders, I shall be able to question them strictly and get the money.' He replied, 'The Company has not a cash, so do not allow an ollock

[1] Kônthvâr.

of grain for *kudivâram*,[1] no matter if cultivation suffers. Do your best to get money anyhow.'

Guntûr Râmasûla Chetti and Narasinga Chetti then came and desired me to get the Villiyanallûr paddy affair settled ; so I introduced them and told [the Governor] what they had said. He asked me what had taken place. I told him all that M. Dupleix and M. Godeheu had done. He listened to me closely and, after counting on his fingers, told me to order the choultry manager to take the same as in the days of Rangappa Mudali. I said I would tell him accordingly.

Saturday, September 25.[2]—I went to the Fort this morning and waited upstairs with the Company's merchants. When the Governor who was in his room sent word, I took the Company's merchants to him, but he remained silent for about a quarter of an hour. I told him that I had brought the Company's merchants after discussing the broadcloth business with them according to his orders. 'Do they know the price of broadcloth?' he asked. The merchants said to me that I, and not the Governor, seemed to be managing the business, so I explained that the Governor was anxious about something, probably the

[1] The cultivator's share.

[2] *13th Purattâsi, Dhâthu.*

ships. I then told the Governor that the merchants would not take more than 100 bales and that they should be allowed some reduction in price. He agreed; I asked him to give M. Cornet the necessary instructions. As he said nothing, I asked if I might tell M. Cornet myself. 'Yes,' he said. I then told the merchants to wait for me outside. The Governor said, 'I asked you the day before yesterday to let me know the state of the crops. Why have you not reported it?' I replied, 'In the countries under the management of M. Boyelleau and M. Guillard, about a lakh of rupees can be collected by strict measures—about 20,000 by October 30. Besides this, money for paddy will be coming in from November to January.' He again asked me about the same matter.

Then he asked if Pondichery cash was being coined in Tiruvannâmalai. I said that this had been going on for the last three months. 'What shall we do about it?' he asked. I replied, 'If you write to Muhammad 'Alî Khân, you must address him as Nawâb; but it is not desirable that you should address him thus. I think therefore that it will be but proper if you write to the Governor of Madras.' He agreed.[1]

[1] This was done. Pigot made enquiries of Nawâb Muhammad 'Alî, who replied that the practice was customary. *Country Correspondence, 1756*, pp. 152 and 155.

He then said, 'Two ships that set sail on April 26 (corresponding to 16th *Chittirai*[1]) are said to have reached Madras. If our ships arrive also, we shall have the money we need and be able to manage affairs well.' I replied, 'All this depends on the fortune of the man who rules. Your fortune is very good; peace has been made between M. Bussy and Salabat Jang; therefore the ships will arrive, and the town will be happy.'—'That is an unanswerable argument,' he replied.

Then he asked me if, at this time, the Company's merchants would not take 200 or 300 bales of broadcloth and pay for them. I replied, 'It will be much if they will take these 100 bales and supply cloth in payment for them. Is their credit good enough to do more?'—'Then there can be no great merchants in the town,' the Governor replied. I answered that it was true.

I then said, 'I have told you about the promise of 20,000 rupees for you and 5,000 rupees for me in the Turaiyûr affair. For your 20,000 rupees, they gave 5,000 Porto Novo pagodas at the rate of four rupees a pagoda; as for the 5,000 rupees promised me, they have brought 1,000 Porto Novo pagodas equal to 4,000 rupees.'—'Bring them,' the Governor

[1] The Ephemeris gives the 18th as the equivalent date.

replied. Thereon Kônêri Nâyakkan brought and placed the 1,000 pagodas before the Governor and salaamed. The Governor questioned him about it and he replied, 'We have already given you 5,000 pagodas for the 20,000 rupees promised you. As the Pillai Avargal has been promised 5,000 rupees, these 1,000 pagodas have been sent after all this time in satisfaction of the amount. The Pillai Avargal said that they should be given to you and I have therefore brought them.' The Governor turned to me and asked if there was the full 1,000 pagodas.[1] I said that there was, but the Governor said that on a former occasion, they had been ten pagodas short. 'In that case,' I replied, 'we will have them counted.'—'I will do so,' he said, 'and tell you.'—'Very good,' I replied.[2]

He then said, 'We have already written that 2,000 rupees should be given to M. Guillard. Ask this man to write and see that he is given 2,000 pagodas.[3]' I agreed and told Kônêri Nâyakkan accordingly and the latter agreed to write about it.

Kônêri Nâyakkan then said, 'When formerly 5,000 rupees as peshkash and 25,000

[1] Pagodas usually passed current in bags certified by a shroff's seal.

[2] Ranga Pillai's present was possibly annexed in this manner on account of the money due from him as Renter.

[3] *Sic.*

rupees as nazar to the Company were mentioned, you ordered that the Company's 25,000 rupees should be paid to M. Goupil, the commander. Nayinâtha (younger brother of dubâsh Kandappan) who came on account of this item, received 3,000 rupees for himself and 9,000 rupees for M. Marion, the commander, besides rice, cloth, etc., for two months which amounted to 14,000 rupees. Moreover M. Medère who commanded at Srîrangam refused to receive the dress of honour offered him in return for his having placed my master on the throne, and caused great trouble to us with his sepoys. He received 6,000 rupees, besides 10,000 rupees by plunder—16,000 rupees in all. Prior to all this, Tilly got 12,000 in ready money and some idols. Thus in six months about 40,000 rupees have been received to our great injury; and how can we therefore pay the Company's peshkash? What was paid for the mortgage amount, was taken to be a present, and not even a receipt was given for the amount. If such things are allowed, what are we to do? If you do not demand of them why they have gone away with the money that was paid for the Company, and get it back from them, they will soon make an end of us altogether.' The Governor replied, 'They swear before God that those amounts were given to them as a

gift, so what can I do?'—'Then they will exterminate us, we are undone,' Kônêri Nâyakkan replied. The Governor was vexed and said, 'You had better complain to M. Guillard, who has gone there, and he will settle everything.' Thereon he asked the Governor to give him a letter about it. The Governor said that he had already written about it and that he would write again. Kônêri Nâyakkan continued, 'Formerly I brought two horses and a dress of honour for you, but you refused them. They are now being taken to Turaiyûr. Be pleased to write to him that a dress of honour and a horse are being sent and write also to the poligar of Ariyalûr and the Râjâ of Tanjore not to join our enemies. If they shall be received there with all pomp, he[1] will be highly honoured.' Thereon the Governor told me to write asking him to accept the dress of honour and tell Madanânda Pandit to write a letter. I then told the Governor that their enemies must be prevented from attacking them. He said he would certainly do this. I said I had heard that Appâji Pandit had left the day before yesterday. He replied that he had sent

[1] The Turaiyûr poligar. Such pretended presents were not uncommon. In the present case they would make the poligar seem high in the Governor's favour, and perhaps give pause to those who were pillaging him.

him and that I should not tell Kônêri Nâyakkan. After a little further conversation, I took leave and went to my office in the flower-garden.

Sunday, September 26.[1]—I went to the Second's house this morning, on the return of his wife and daughter from hearing mass. The Second and the councillor from Bengal came out to go to church. I paid them my respects, as the four were talking together. The Second asked if I wanted to talk to him. 'Yes,' I replied. He answered that he was just going to church and that I had better talk with his wife until his return, when I could speak to him at length. I gave him a bouquet which he returned saying that I might give it to his wife, and be talking with her. Madame Barthélemy said to me that, as her husband permitted it, I might have a conversation with her, and, receiving the bouquet, took me by the hand. I, Madame Barthélemy and her daughter then talked together. Madame Barthélemy related the news that was brought to Madras by the Europe ship. M. Le Riche, who was Governor of Kârikâl and who then went to Europe, has written as follows to M. Barthélemy :—'M. Godeheu received rich presents from the King of France

[1] *14th Purattâsi, Dhâthu.*

on his return home ; the Company can do nothing against his word ; M. Dupleix has not yet visited the King or the ministers, and has been confined to his house ever since he returned home ; all the things he took home have been removed to the Company's godown ; as hostilities have broken out between the French and the English Kings, the French have seized about 200 English ships and sloops ; the English have also seized some of the French ships ; during the wars 44 years ago in the time of Louis XIV among the European hat-wearing nations, the English captured Port Mahon and Gibraltar, two ports in America[1] belonging to the King of Spain, but when peace was concluded and the treaty ready to be signed, the King of Spain refused to sign it owing to some disagreement about these two ports. As, however, the King of Spain was grandson of the King of France, the latter promised the former to get him the two ports if he would sign the treaty, on which he did so ; the King of France, being under an obligation to get the two ports from the English for the Spanish King, was not able to get them all these 45 years, owing to troubles, and only secured them last year, on which he gave them to the King of Spain,

[1] *Sic.*

which has led to many troubles there.' I asked if she had heard anything about what had happened there after M. Godeheu's departure on the conclusion of the eighteen months' truce. She replied that nobody could be expected to know anything about it, except M. Godeheu, the ministers, the King and some of the Company, and that nothing would be known about it until the council received letters from the Company. I then asked if the council had received any letters from the Company by the Europe ships. She replied, 'Those ships only brought some letters about business. Nothing certain is known. The coming ships may bring definite news.' I replied that I was wondering why no news had arrived by these ships. 'True,' she replied, 'but considering the troubles there, how can they bestow any thought on this matter? People have been saying here that M. Dupleix has arrived at Mahé with 16 ships and that he will be here in ten days. But the last Europe letters say that he is worse off than a cooly is here. When he was here, he enjoyed all prosperity, like the Pâdshâh. He is no doubt a good man, but his wife is very bad; she has been the cause of all his difficulties and dishonour. What can he do? Such is the news. We cannot believe whatever may be said.' After conversing with her for

about an hour, I told her that I must go to the Fort. She said that I should wait until the Second had returned. 'I cannot,' I replied, 'the Governor has been complaining that I do not visit him often enough, so I will go now and come back later.' Thereon she said that affairs were being ruined because M. Leyrit could not control the Europeans. I replied that we Tamils could not be expected to know such things. I then went to the Fort and paid my respects to the Governor, who had gone upstairs afer his return from church. An officer came in wearing a coat of many colours embroidered in curves. On seeing it, the Governor, the councillors, and officers all laughed and made fun of him. After about an hour, the Governor went into his room, the rest went home, and I went to my office in the flower-garden.

Wednesday, September 29.[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning, the Governor, councillors and officers were upstairs, as there was a festival. I paid my respects and waited. M. Cornet came and said that, as the Company was in urgent need of money, the coral should be weighed. I replied that it was already half-past nine, and as it was a festival, it would take a long time for all of them to come,

[1] *17th Purattâsi, Dhâthu.*

and, therefore, as it was a matter in which many were concerned, it would take a long time. He then said that it might be done to-morrow and went away.

A European in the Fort then told me the following news :—'M. Dupleix is being blamed in Europe on several accounts. M. du Bausset (M. Dupleix' attorney), M. Delarche and the St. Paul's priests received letter from Europe by the English ship that arrived on Sunday the 19th. M. Dupleix' letters to M. du Bausset and M. Delarche, direct them to pay his creditors here out of the revenues of his jaghir,[1] and send accounts of the payments made. M. du Bausset is confined to his house busily examining the accounts with the help of ten accountants. He is going to take three copies of the accounts he is examining and send them to Europe, one by the ship sailing from Tranquebar, the second by the ship sailing from Madras, and the third by the Pondichery ship. As M. Dupleix is thus busy in Europe about his accounts, he is not likely to be coming here.' So saying, the European went away. I then went to my office in the flower-garden.

[1] The jaghir of Valudâvûr, which he continued to enjoy after his recall. It is said by Godeheu (*Lettre au sieur Dupleix*, p. 19) to have produced 300,000 livres a year—at the ordinary rate of computation (20 sols. to the livre and 48 sols. to the rupee) a lakh of rupees and a quarter.

Thursday, September 30.[1]—Before I reached the Second's house this morning, he had gone out and I saw him in front, so I followed him. He went into the fuel godown. Thinking that he was going to examine the accounts, I went upstairs to the Governor and saw him. The head surgeon came and reported that the captain of the powder magazine had died. The Governor at once withdrew into his room, so I went to see the coral weighed, and having sent for Râmâsula Chetti[2] and others told them to wait there till four chests had been weighed, and let me know when three chests[3] had been. Then at eleven o'clock I went to the office in the flower-garden. Râmâsula Chetti and Guruvappa Chetti came and informed me that two chests had been weighed, but that the coral in the third chest had not been, as it was a very inferior quality, and that 14 chests in all had been weighed.

[1] *18th Purattâsi, Dhâthu.*

[2] Apparently an error for *Râmânujalu Chetti.*

[3] I suppose the smaller number refers to chests in which Ranga Pillai was personally interested.

OCTOBER 1756.

Friday, October 1.[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning, the Governor and the councillors were in the sorting-godown. I paid my respects and waited. After long consideration, it was resolved to issue 10,000 rupees for the pay through the Second.

A petition was then presented to the Governor stating that Dairiyanâtha Mudali, after keeping in his house a girl from outside and going through all the preliminaries, now wanted to marry another girl. After the petition had been read, Dairiyanâtha Mudali was summoned and questioned. He replied that it was true that a girl had been brought to his house, but that the Padrés who enquired into the matter had decided that both he and she should marry other persons, and that posts had been fixed for the two marriages. The Governor therefore summoned the Padrés and questioned them.

Twenty-three bales of Bengal cloth were packed. At ten o'clock I went to the office in the flower-garden.

Saturday, October 2.[2]—When I went to the Fort this morning, the Second was in the sorting-godown examining the Company's merchants' brown cloth. When I paid my

[1] *19th Purattâsi, Dhâthu.* [2] *20th Purattâsi, Dhâthu.*

respects, he said that the brown cloth had been sorted, and that the white cloth should be got in quickly. I told him that the brown cloth which was being bleached at the washing place would come in. Then I went upstairs, and having paid my respects to the Governor who was there, went back to the sorting-godown. On hearing that the Governor wanted me, I went upstairs again to see the Governor, who said, 'M. Aumont has written from Mangalûr saying that the poligar of that place is being pressed for money. How is it that you are demanding money of him'? I replied, 'Why, sir, do you question me about it? And what has M. Aumont to do with it? If the amaldâr who collects the revenue complains, M. Aumont should help him; it is a fine matter if he writes like this instead. The former like conduct of the commandants, as you know, lost us all the country revenue; I need say no more about it. The commissaries who are now in charge will report about it.' The Governor replied, 'Never mind, I will write strictly to M. Aumont not to interfere in the business and to let the amaldârs collect money according to the demand, and only to assist in case help is required, but not to behave like this. You had better also write suitably to the amaldâr.'

The Governor then said that the commandant at Gingee had complained of not having been supplied with rice and other provisions, and asked why this was so. I replied that I had formerly supplied the commandants, but that, when he and the Second said that they were to be supplied by the *Arumpâtai* and not by me, I had written accordingly. 'Did I say so?' the Governor asked. 'Perhaps,' I said, 'you and the Second have forgotten what you said before. What can I say? The commissaries who have gone there have written letters.' Thereon the Governor smiled and said that, in that case, nothing need be given.

He then asked if I could not supply the commandant at Utramallûr with the 20 coolies he wanted. I replied that I had nothing to do with it and that the commissaries should be asked about it. The Governor smiled and said that I might write about the supply of as many coolies as might be wanted.

The Governor then told me to write to the amaldârs of Villiyanallûr, Valudâvûr and Tiruvennanallûr to furnish M. Fanteaume who had gone there, with an account showing the extent of the country and tanks therein. I replied that he might tell the commissaries about it. 'It does not matter,' the Governor said, 'you had better write yourself.' I

agreed to do so, and getting from M. Chevreau a short note containing particulars of the letter, went to the office in the flower-garden.

Sunday, October 3.[1]—When I was in the sorting-godown this morning, Madanânda Pandit brought and showed me a Persian letter and said, 'This letter is addressed to M. d'Auteuil who asked me the name of the addressee. I said that it had been written to him by Mîr Badr-ul-lah Khân. He then asked me about its contents. I reported it as follows:—"I set out to put in order the affairs of the country. M. Lambert is coming with his guards to join me. Be pleased to order him to be friendly and assisting, and to manage affairs with care. Kindly do what is needed, considering me to be your man." When I said that the letter was written as from a superior desiring the assistance of an inferior, M. d'Auteuil asked who he was and where he was living; I replied that that could be learnt from the messenger; but he said that he could not be found anywhere. I suggested that he must be coming to manage the country in the possession of the French and the English and that I knew nothing of him. M. d'Auteuil agreed and told me to go to the Governor.' So saying he took leave

[1] *21st Purattâsi, Dhâthu.*

and went to the Governor. I reflected that I could find out the whole by questioning M. Lambert with the letter in my hand. Madanânda Pandit added that he had received news from Arcot that Muhammad 'Alî Khân, having heard that Salabat Jang had resolved to give the Carnatic subah and Kandanûr to Munawar Khân and to send M. Bussy with him, had sent all his goods, etc., to Madras preparatory to going thither himself.

Monday, October 4.[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning, the Governor, the Second and the councillors were sorting coarse blue-cloth in the sorting-godown. I paid my respects to the Governor who asked who had supplied the coarse blue cloth that was being sorted. I replied that M. Barthélemy was getting 40 bales packed.[2]

The Governor then told me to ascertain why the Mahé Brâhman had come from the Râjâ of Kolastri in Chirukkânâd. On my questioning him, he replied that he had been sent with letters from the Mahé Mûppan[3] and the Kolastri Râjâ to obtain from the Governor a grant of a village on the banks of the Cauvery yielding 5,000 or 6,000 *kalams* of paddy to be used for the charitable

[1] *22nd Purattâsi, Dhâthu.*

[2] It is not clear whether Ranga Pillai means that this cloth had been supplied by Barthélemy or whether the text is corrupt.

[3] *i.e.*, Chief. I suppose, the principal person at Mahé.

purpose of feeding Brâhmans which he desires much. When I reported this to the Governor, he said that such a grant was contrary to his religion. I replied that such an answer should not be given. 'Why not?' he asked. I continued, 'God is the common ruler of all the dwellers in the world, though they dress differently and embrace different faiths, and blesses each as He sees good. You are next under God, and ruler of all the country under your sway. Men of different faiths live under you and you ought to treat them all alike. Every one else—the Second, the councillors and men like me—can only say as you decide.' The Governor was overjoyed, and asked what could have induced the Râjâ to send this Brâhman. I replied, 'I hear that, when you were in Mahé, you were very kind to them. You are now master of country yielding 50 lakhs, so that to bestow a village yielding 2,000 rupees is no great thing to you. He believes that you will grant his request and thereby earn glory. That is why he has sent the Brâhman.'—'Can I give it?' the Governor asked. I replied, 'If you like, you may, as whatever you promise, you perform. In M. Lenoir's time, the mere movement of his tongue made the out-villages stir. Was it not verily seen? In M. Dupleix' time, his

word and none other's was law. But as you now are careless, all do as they please. But who can resist your order?' He listened to this with a smile and asked what evasive reply could be given for the present. 'In that case,' I replied, 'you may say that your wish is to grant a thing which will continue for ever, that that can be done only after affairs between you and Nandi Râjâ have been settled, that you are expecting the arrival of the Europe ships and the news they will bring, and that you will answer definitely after learning the Europe news.'—'Very well, tell him so,' the Governor said. I did accordingly.

He then said that he wanted a good and suitable riding-horse. I said I would send one in the evening. The Governor replied, 'I do not want your black horse; it is too lively. I am old and I want a quiet animal which will not kick.' I answered, 'Don't say that you are old. How old are you? There is God in you; else you could not have become Governor; and since God is in you, how can you say that you are old? I will send a good and quiet animal, not the black one.' So I sent one in the evening. The Governor inspected it, made some Europeans mount it, and watched its action. When he was satisfied, he ordered it to be tied up in his stables.

Saturday, October 9.[1]—I heard this morning that the merchants' cloth would be sorted this evening, so I visited the Governor when he was sauntering in the southern hall upstairs, and said, 'I hear that all the English people at Madurantakam, except one or two managers and writers, have departed, the peons, guards, etc., have gone to Madras and the peons and guards at Chingleput have also left. I also hear that five ships and five frigates are on the point of sailing from Madras.'—'Why have they gone?' the Governor asked. I replied that I had not heard and could not say why they had gone or whether they would return.

M. d'Auteuil then came and told the Governor that his horse would bend its front legs,[2] and that M. Aumont's horse was worth 800 rupees. The Governor replied that that horse was not the one for him. Thereon M. d'Auteuil asked me and I said that I did not want it. I then went to the sorting-godown where I found the Second watching the coarse blue-cloth for M. Moracin, the cloth nine *kâls* wide for M. Lenoir, and the shirts for M. Miran, that is, cloth for Europeans only, being baled. M. Cornet said that, if Europeans made the merchants under them get them cloth, the Company could not expect to make a profit or

[1] *27th Purattâsi, Dhâthu.*

[2] *Query*: "was gone in the knees."

get good cloth. M. Barthélemy said that things had begun to go wrong under M. Dupleix, but that now under M. Leyrit they had been completely spoiled. When they were talking thus, some of the merchants came, who, on being asked why they had not supplied cloth, in confusion first said that cloth had come in and then that it had not. I said to them that it certainly had not, and asked why they were so remiss while the Europeans were packing in small quantities the cloth they[1] had supplied. M. Cornet spoke to the same effect. It was then ten o'clock and 32 bales of various qualities had been packed. In all 402 bales had been got ready for Mascareigne and Europe up to yesterday as follows :—on hand on October 3, 1756, 279; baled on October 4, 40; Mascareigne bales 35; baled on the 8th, 48. Inclusive of those baled to-day, the total number of bales is 434. After making enquiries, I went to my office in the flower-garden.

Tuesday, October 12.[2]—I did not go to the Fort this morning, but went to M. du Bausset's house as I had heard from a peon that he wanted me. He said, 'I have to pay you on account of the Cheyyûr affair; but you owe me[3] 6,300 rupees besides 3,000 rupees in M. La

[1] The merchants.
[2] *30th Purattâsi, Dhâthu.*
[3] Reading *Nitharavêndiyathu for Nâtharavêndiyathu.*

Haye's affair, and 6,000 rupees in M. Chagru's[1] affair with interest, besides the 500 pagodas due to me over Tyâgappa Chetti's pearl.' I replied, 'I have nothing to do with Tyâgappa Chetti's 500 pagodas. The other sums are due with interest for two years.' M. du Bausset said, 'Why do you hesitate? You had better give me a receipt for the Cheyyûr rents for three years ending with *Dhâthu*,[2] and I will give in return a receipt for 10,300 rupees. I will talk with M. Delarche in council about it, and see that a remission of not less than six but not more than ten lakhs of rupees is allowed for these two years owing to loss by the failure of crops. Moreover a proportionate reduction will be allowed on the *beriz* from the year *Dhâthu*. You may rely on this, and I will give you a note to that effect; and if I do not make it good, I will be responsible for the Cheyyûr money.' I said that, if Periyanna Mudali were fetched in, I would decide after discussing the matter with him. Having thus avoided a final answer, I proceeded to the Fort, and went upstairs to see the Governor, who was just going into his room to write letters for the ships about to sail. So I went to the sorting-godown where the goods belonging to

[1] The Madras transcript reads *Shâkkuru*; I suspect a corruption.
[2] 1756-1757.

the deceased captain of the *Gloire*,[1] were being sold by auction. M. Miran and M. Cornet came and said, 'We have supplied the Company with goods to the value of 1,409 pagodas and they have been entered in your account. You must give us an acknowledgment for this.' I replied, 'I do not know if they are your goods or mine. If you will send me an extract of your entry in the accounts, I will examine my accounts, and, if I find no entry, I will do as you say.' They said that I was right and that they would send a list.

I remained at home this morning and I write below the contents of a letter I received from Arcot :—Ibrâhîm 'Alî Khân who was sent by Salabat Jang to Muhammad 'Alî Khân at Arcot has now been recalled by Salabat Jang who has written to him saying that, although Muhammad 'Alî Khân and the English formerly wrote that the French were a bad people, and that, if he would cease to be friends with them, they would send 2,000 soldiers and 1,000 foot with sufficient munitions to expel the French, they had failed to perform their promises, with the result that the poligars had not paid their tribute, he had lost men and money, which must by all means be recovered ; and that therefore he (Ibrâhîm

[1] See *Correspondance de Pondichéry avec Bengale*, Vol. III, p. 304.

'Alî) must not remain there, but as they had deceived him, he should also deceive them.

Later on I went to the office in the flower-garden at half-past ten.

Sunday, October 17.[1]—I did not go out this morning, as I was unwell.

News received by Bâqir Saiyid Khân from the Pâdshâh and reported in the letter received from Arcot :—The Pâdshâh had set out with two lakhs of horsemen in order to march against Bengal, and had gone seven stages on the way, when the Nawâb of Bengal sent two crores of treasure and came to an agreement with the Pâdshâh who, satisfied with this, confirmed Bengal in the Nawâb's name, besides giving him Chicacole, Rajahmundry and other places[2]. Troops are marching from Bengal to Chicacole and Rajahmundry ; and the Pâdshâh intends to march to Aurangabad in great anger with Salabat Jang.

Monday, October 25.[3]—I visited the Governor at eight o'clock this morning. He did not look as serene as usual ; but I do not know what news has come by the Europe letters. He did not summon the councillors to hear the letters read ; so I went at ten o'clock to the Second's who asked me the news. I said

[1] *5th Arppisi, Dhâthu.*
[2] Cf. Hill's *Bengal in 1756-57*, Vol. II, p. 53.
[3] *13th Arppisi, Dhâthu.*

that I had heard that the Europe ships had reached Mascareigne whence letters had been forwarded by sloops, but that he must know what news they contained. He said, 'There is war and yet there is no war in Europe, for although both the parties are seizing each other's ships, as if war had been declared, and there is war in certain places, yet at the same time there are negotiations for peace. Hence the delay in the arrival of ships. But four ships have reached Mascareigne and others are expected. All will arrive by January, but nobody knows what news they will bring.' I said that there must be letters from the Company for the Council, and asked if he were going [to see]. He replied, 'Why should I go of my own accord? Will not the Governor send for me to hear the Company's letters read? It is not decent for me to go to him before he sends for me. Besides, when Râmalingam (Vinâyakan's man) was imprisoned by M. Boyelleau, I told the Governor that he[1] as manager of the country could imprison people for matters arising out of the country business; but, as the man charged with settling private disputes[2], I offered if Râmalingam were released, to inquire into the dispute. He said nothing; and I asked why he remained

[1] M. Boyelleau.

[2] The Second was usually Judge of the *Chaudrie* Court.

silent; but still he said nothing, so I came away. The Company has suffered great losses through him; the losses incurred in the country are also due to him. I do not know how he will answer the complaints of the Company.' Although the Second used such pointed language, I only answered that God knew all, and, taking leave, went to my office in the flower-garden.

Sunday, October 31.[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning, the Governor, the councillors, officers, and the Second were going upstairs after hearing mass at church. I also went up but had no sooner paid my respects to the Governor, than I had to answer the calls of nature, so I went to the office in the flower-garden. There a peon came and said that the Governor wanted me. When I went, the Governor was alone in his chamber. He said, 'M. Guillard tells me that Contoir [?] at Tirukkôyilûr has written saying that Râmalingam has paid you 6,000 rupees. What do you say to it?' I replied, 'Râmalingam had paid me nothing, so I wrote to that place to get the money from the amaldâr and send it.'—'Then,' the Governor said, 'Râmalingam has told a lie.' I said that he had. The Governor said that he would write about it.

[1] *19th Arppisi, Dhâthu.*

He then continued, 'Qâdir 'Alî Khân (Chandâ Sâhib's younger brother's son), who is the killedar of Râvattanallûr, has written a letter saying that during the troubles Sîli Nayakkan collected 200 men and some horse and stationed them in a village attached to Kallakurichi yielding a revenue of 120 *pons*, a third of which is due to me and the remaining two-thirds to him. On this, the amaldâr made a false report to M. Aumont who fell upon the troops[1] at night and carried away 15 horses, muskets, etc., a list of which has also been sent.'—'True,' I replied, 'we have a right to a share in the village, but neither have we received the money due as our share nor have the cultivators been looked after, but are embezzling the harvested crops. When our amaldârs demanded whether these underhand measures were permissible, they could obtain no proper answer; moreover in order to command respect, horse and men were sent to the village to seize the crops; when the amaldâr informed M. Aumont, he also sent men, who were wounded. M. Aumont ordered his people to fire, whereon the others fled, unable to resist, but it was their fault for having been the first to use violence.' The Governor said that he[2] had written saying that men

[1] Qâdir 'Alî Khân's. [2] Apparently Qâdir 'Alî Khân.

had been sent on account of Sîli Nâyakkan. 'True,' I replied, 'he raised horse and foot out of fear of Sîli Nâyakkan; but they were sent to seize the crops and create alarm. You had better therefore write to him saying that in punishment for his removing cultivators from the village, seizing the harvested produce, and wounding our men, you would have seized his fort, had you not excused him because he is Chandâ Sâhib's younger brother's son and long known to you; but should such a thing occur again, he should write to you and obey your orders, that though you have been pleased to excuse him this time, if he repeats such conduct, his fort will be seized, and that you have ordered the goods seized to be returned according to the list received, which he may accept and conduct himself with propriety.' The Governor said he would write accordingly.

He then said, 'When I returned from Gingee last *Chittirai*,[1] I wrote to Nandi Râjâ of Mysore about the arrival of the Europe ships, but he has neither replied nor sent the messenger back. Why is this?' I replied, 'Nandi Râjâ is devising means to kill the Râjâ of Mysore and set another on the throne. I hear that the Râjâ has appealed to the Nânâ, who is expected. You should therefore write a letter saying that

[1] *April-May.*

the 12 ships which have arrived at Mascareigne with many men will arrive next month, that you have been ordered to collect the money due from him, but that he has not replied to your former letter or returned the messengers and that he must pay without further delay.'— 'Well,' he said, 'I will consider the matter and then write.' I continued, 'Since the Râjâ and Nandi Râjâ are on ill terms, the Râjâ sent men to the Nânâ to request the assistance of his troops, offering to pay as much as 60 lakhs of rupees. The Nânâ's vakîl, a Brâhman who has come as ambassador, has also been told to write about it, and the Nânâ is likely to come. So we had better write strictly and send men to Nandi Râjâ demanding money. Then the Râjâ may think that, as we are pressing Nandi Râjâ, we may help to bring him into subjection on condition of securing what is due to us or some sum such as he has offered the Nânâ. I also hear that the Râjâ desires our assistance to overthrow Nandi Râjâ; but I do not know your intention. If letters and men be sent now, I think our affair will prosper.' The Governor said that he would think about it and write.

Then I reported the Arcot news as follows:— As Salabat Jang has given Munawar Khân an order for 18 lakhs of rupees on Muhammad 'Alî Khân, Munawar Khân sent ten horsemen with a letter to Muhammad 'Alî Khân at Arcot

demanding the money. When the horsemen delivered the letter, and demanded payment, Muhammad 'Alî Khân replied that this demand should not be made as the English had seized one-half of his country and the French the other, and that, as he is powerless under the English protection, they should ask the English for the amount. The horsemen replied that, if he failed to pay, Munawar Khân would march against him with his troops. Muhammad 'Alî Khân said that they were at liberty to attack him, and gave a letter to that effect. They are therefore about to return. Instead of sending back Ibrâhîm 'Alî Khân, Muhammad 'Alî Khân has written that Salabat Jang is mistaken about the English and that he does not know what to do as the English who have spent large sums on raising foot and soldiers and buying powder, are complaining that Salabat Jang has come to terms with the French before they could despatch their troops.

A letter has been received saying that the killedar of Chêtpattu has encamped outside with horse and military, and has brought two cannon out of the fort and is preparing ladders, that three or four guns have been sent there from Arcot, besides some Topasses and Portuguese, and that he is about to march against the fort of Wandiwash, whereon the people of these parts are flying in panic. I told the

Governor that although the killedar could not create any troubles in his country, yet an order should be given for 300 sepoys to move thither in order to calm men's minds. The Governor replied that he would give orders to-morrow.

I said that he should not send back the Moghul who came from Salabat Jang.

The Governor then gave me the two French letters he had written, one to Salabat Jang, and the other to Râma Râjâ of Kôlattanâd about the latter's request for a village, reading their contents to me and telling me to have the letter for Salabat Jang translated into Persian, and that for Râma Râjâ into Tamil. I received them, and on my departure, gave Madanânda Pandit the letter to be translated into Persian and went to the office in the flower-garden with the letter to be written to Râma Râjâ.

NOVEMBER 1756.

Sunday, November 1.[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning, [I heard] that Ayyan Sâstri had informed M. Boyelleau yesterday that, when the killedar of Chêtpattu entertained horse and men, and ordered two of the cannon mounted on the fort to be brought down and ladders to be prepared, the people of the Wandiwash country had fled in panic. M. Boyelleau in reply told him to go with me this morning to the Fort, when he would speak to the Governor about the matter in strong terms. I went to the Fort accordingly. Ayyan Sâstri and M. Boyelleau arrived, and the latter took us upstairs. I paid my respects to the Governor. M. Boyelleau related to the Governor what Ayyan Sâstri had said about the killedar of Chêtpattu and the people's fear, and requested him to send sepoys. The Governor replied that I had told him all this yesterday, when he had said that he would despatch sepoys, as the 18 months' truce between the English and the French had elapsed, no ships had arrived and he had not heard anything about the English. M. Boyelleau said that he should write to the English.

[1] *24th Arppisi, Dhâthu.* (sic.) The day of the week should be Monday and the Tamil date the 20th.

The Governor then asked Ayyan Sâstri to deliver the 60,000 rupees' worth of paddy that is in the Wandiwash country. M. Boyelleau said that, as Ayyan Sâstri had to pay 1,20,000 rupees by *Mârgali*,[1] he should pay at least a lakh of rupees. As M. Boyelleau demanded a lakh, although the Governor had only said 60,000 rupees was to be paid by the delivery of paddy, I explained to the Governor what Ayyan Sâstri had said. Even then the Governor still demanded 60,000 rupees. I think Ayyan Sâstri has induced Kandappan to tell the Governor that a lakh of *kalams* of *kâr* paddy is in Wandiwash, and that after the deduction of the cultivators' share, the Government share will realise 60,000 rupees.

Then for an hour the Governor and M. Boyelleau walked up and down talking together, so I waited. At last M. Boyelleau, having taken leave of the Governor, went to the sorting-godown and sent for me. On my arrival, he said that he had made me and the Governor talk together. I agreed. He then asked why I had not shown the accounts to the Governor. I replied, 'When M. Desvoeux gave in his accounts, I was also told to bring mine; but then he did not say anything to me about it. *Tôranams* have been tied in the

[1] December-January.

country ; how can I give accounts ?' M. Boyelleau replied, 'I told the Governor that the accounts were ready, and he asked me to bring them. So bring me the account which you showed me, so that I may show it to the Governor.' I said that I had not taken a copy of it but that I would take one and give it him. 'Have you no copy?' he asked. I said I had not. 'If so,' he said, 'you must take a copy to-day and give it to the Governor early to-morrow morning.' I said, 'It cannot be ready to-day ; it will take at least two days.' This made him angry, and he obstinately said that, as he had told the Governor the account was ready, I must get it copied to-day and bring it to-morrow morning. He then went home, but I waited there. When I heard that the Governor wanted me, I went upstairs. The Governor said, 'You said that sepoys should be sent to Wandiwash. I have written a letter to the European at Tandalai to send 300 men to Wandiwash and to do as Ayyan Sâstri desires, and another to the commandant of Utramallûr, who, I am told, has been taking from the bazaar men 40 rupees a month apiece, telling him not to do so. Have them despatched.' I received them saying I would do so.

The Governor then asked what presents should be given to the Kôlattanâd Kolastri Râjâ's man. I said, a hundred rupees and four

yards of broadcloth. He agreed and gave an order to M. Bertrand for four yards of broadcloth and another to the *Arumpâtai* for a hundred rupees, saying that, if I brought them to-morrow morning, the man would be despatched.

Then he asked me if my accounts were ready. I said they were, and that I would bring them the day after to-morrow. 'Do so,' he said. I took leave and went to the office in the flower-garden at eleven o'clock.

Tuesday, November 2.[1]—I went to the Fort this morning. As to-day was like *Mahâlaya-paksham* day for Europeans,[2] the Governor and others, wearing black, went to the church in memory of the departed, and heard mass ; on their return, I paid my respects to the Governor who then went upstairs. M. Boyelleau asked by a sign if the accounts had been received. I signed back to him that they had been. When all had gone upstairs, I paid my respects to the Governor, and waited until M. Boyelleau came and asked for the account. I said I had it. He took it and placing it under his arm told me to come to the Governor. I said that he need not take in the account at once, because I had one in my hand and that we might go in when the Governor had

[1] *21st Arppisi, Dhâthu.*

[2] See Vol. IX, p. 81, note 3.

finished talking. M. Boyelleau, turning back, said that he would take the Governor aside as soon as I brought in the account. I replied that that would be unwise, that he should not be hasty, but should wait till the Governor had finished talking. Then he went away. Reflecting that as M. Boyelleau was very hasty, I should not stand about idly, I went aside and signed the accounts in all the necessary places. By this time he[1] had called me more than a dozen times to bring the accounts. When the Governor turned into his room after talking, M. Delarche followed him to get the monthly pay sheet signed, and came out when that had been done; and then M. Boyelleau went in with me to the Governor, who asked if the account had come. I said I had brought it, and placed it before the Governor who looked into it and said angrily, 'The accounts show the sums paid to the commandant, poligars and the Udaiyân during the troubles as paid to the Company. I cannot agree to this.' M. Boyelleau replied, 'The country revenues have been squandered among many—the poligars have not paid; there were troubles with the English; and the Europeans claimed money as sureties. Is Rangappan to find all this out of his own pocket? Is that just?'

[1] M. Boyelleau.

The Governor replied angrily that a remission might be made. M. Boyelleau answered that justice required no less; whereon the Governor in great anger declared that this was the first he had heard of the affair. M. Boyelleau asked me if the account had not been previously given to the Governor. I replied in a low tone that it had, thinking that, as the Governor was so angry, it was not advisable to contradict him. The Governor said again that he knew nothing about it, and spoke to M. Boyelleau loudly and angrily. The latter also grew angry and went home without saying anything further. I also came out, but I could not go away as M. Boyelleau had done, because Kôlattanâd Râjâ's man had to be given *pân supârî*, four yards of broadcloth and the 100 rupees which had been got ready. Shortly afterwards, the Governor himself called me. When I went in, his anger had abated; he spoke cheerfully, and asked about sending for Râma Râjâ's man. I said he might be sent for; and having called him, I gave him the four yards of broadcloth and 100 rupees with *pân supârî* and sent him away.

He then asked about dismissing the Moghul from Salabat Jang. I said it might be done. He said the letter had been written and asked what should be given to him. I replied, 'When Salabat Jang's presents were brought

before, 1,000 rupees, two pistols, a gun and two pieces of broadcloth were given. The present man has to go all the way to Aurangabad, so I think he may be given a piece of broadcloth and 400 rupees ; but you may do as you please.' He did not reply but wrote an order to M. Bertrand for a piece and another to M. Delarche for 400 rupees, and giving them to me said that I might get them to-morrow, and send him away early next morning.

I then said, 'I am your slave, and have not written false accounts. To ascertain their truth, the councillors went to the several villages, made enquiries and have written accounts and brought them. If you become angry with me, how can I contradict you ? It is your duty to protect me, and mine not to forget your kindness. I will always behave so as to please you and not incur your displeasure. Again I am your slave, and it is your duty to protect me.' Thus I spoke mildly, appealing to his sympathy and seeking to make him understand the real facts. I then went to the office in the flower-garden at eleven o'clock.

Wednesday, November 3.[1]—At seven o'clock this morning, I went to M. Boyelleau's. He had just waked up and was sitting in a chair. When I had taken my seat, he asked why the

[1] *22nd Arppisi, Dhâthu.*

Governor had been so angry. I said I could not account for it. He said, 'I went with Ayyan Sâstri the day before yesterday and talked to the Governor about the Wandiwash affair. When I asked him why the accounts of the country had not been settled, but unwisely held over, he admitted that this was true, and said that though he had asked you to bring the accounts, you had not done so. I replied that you had them ready; and that I had seen them and would tell you to bring them yesterday. He agreed, but yesterday on seeing them he grew angry. Why, I do not know.' I replied, 'He did not like my showing the account to you, and your going with me to explain it to him. This roused his anger and he told you he knew nothing about it. He certainly does know nothing, for he said nothing when in reply to my vakîl whom I had sent to consult M. Maissin, and demand the Ariyalûr and Udaiyârpâlaiyam peshkash, the Udaiyâr said he had been forbidden by Muhammad 'Alî Khân to pay it; but he wrote afterwards to M. Desvoeux, directing him to send guards to demand the money. Moreover when last year the account was given for the Tirumuttam affair, the amounts paid to the commandant and the sureties were entered therein, and I explained many details to him in answer to his questions.

You know the whole matter.' M. Boyelleau then asked if I had sent by the ship[1] a copy of the account I had given him. 'Yes,' I replied. 'You have done a wise thing,' he answered. 'Now that he has got the account, I will not let him off easily, but speak to him about every item boldly.' Thus he spoke plainly to me. I then took leave and went to M. du Bausset's house. He came out to receive me, and embraced me; and after he had led me in, he said, 'I am a great man in Europe and M. Godeheu would not visit anybody's house except mine. M. Dupleix did the same, and partook of a feast with me before he departed. They were so kind to me; and you and I have been friends these 25 years. I did my best in your affairs, but then we disagreed in the Cheyyûr affair. Forget the past. Henceforth I will visit all in their houses, discuss affairs with them and get you large remissions.' I replied, 'According to the account for *Bhava*[2] and *Yuva*[3], I have paid 20,000 rupees besides 2,000 for perquisites—22,000 rupees in all. You had better say nothing of this and admit this 22,000 rupees. I will remit what is due now and for the year *Dhâthu*, besides paying my debts. You had better settle the accounts as you promised. I have not maintained any

[1] Probably to Europe to M. Godeheu.
[2] 1754-1755. [3] 1755-1756.

separate accounts. The commissaries went to the several villages, summoned people, took agreements from them, tied them up, and beat them, prevented them from talking with my men, and maintained accounts of the whole collections. I have not included a single item in order to swell the accounts. The amounts paid to the commandants, sureties and poligars must be taken into consideration in settling my accounts. There are yet three years unexpired[1], and some allowance should be given for this also. As you promised to do so, you must give me a writing ratifying your promise.' M. du Bausset said, 'I will get you remission accordingly and settle affairs according to your accounts. I will give you a written promise to this effect. After deducting what has been paid to you in ready money, give me a statement showing details of such payments and the amounts still due. I will keep it and settle everything according to your account.' I replied that an examination of the accounts which the commissaries had brought would make everything clear. He answered that he wanted details so as to be able to explain everything when he visited the several houses, and that I should therefore give him a list of the amounts due. I said I would do so, and added that, if he sent

[1] Of the lease given to Ranga Pillai.

Periyanna Mudali in the evening, I would talk the matter over with him and send a list.

He then said, 'When the Governor proposed in council to give the Srîrangam lease to the younger brother of Vîrarâghava Chetti of Tranquebar, I opposed it, because he is not truthful and honest like Vîrarâghava Chetti and is the only Company's merchant who has ever been imprisoned in the Choultry. I explained that he was an untrustworthy rogue, and should not be appointed lessee, the more so as in the letter to Europe he[1] had mentioned Bâli Chetti as the renter of Srîrangam, though M. Flacourt was the real renter, of whose misappropriations I could get no information, in spite of my enquiries; and therefore, I concluded, this man should not be made the lessee, but might hold a joint lease with Bâli Chetti. The Governor knows nothing, for, whatever you speak about, you can never get an answer from him under three months. So how can affairs prosper? In an hour M. Dupleix would decide a thousand matters. That is the way to rule; but the present Governor is very different. Whatever is said to him, he gives no reply, and he is ruining the Company's affairs. I have written to Europe about this. The Governor is appointed by the King

[1] *i.e.*, the Governor.

and the Councillors by the Company ; but the present Governor only succeeded by M. Godeheu's orders, and not by the authority of the King. So he is afraid that some one will come out as Governor. M. Dupleix' letter from Europe shows that the King and his ministers, who are very well disposed towards him, have proposed to send him out as Governor ; but it was put off because of the proposed marriage of his elder brother's son and Madame Dupleix' daughter and because he wanted to wait till his health was better. Should there be trouble here, M. Dupleix will come ; otherwise he will not.' I listened to what he said and was silent, thinking it wiser not to reply ; then I took leave and went to the Fort.

I went upstairs and paid my respects to the Governor who was talking to M. d'Auteuil. Having approached the Governor, I said, 'The Madras merchants have sent people here to buy silk yarn, as it is very dear and the English cannot get any.[1] They have sent word desiring you to obtain some for them.'—'Why should I do so?' the Governor asked ; 'will they give me 40 *per cent.* commission ?' I said that he could not expect so much as that, but that they would allow 25 *per cent.* commission on the cost price and expenses. 'We can wait

[1] Owing to their expulsion from Calcutta by Siraj-ud-daulah.

till the ships arrive,' he said. I replied that silk yarn was selling very high now, and that there would be a large profit on sending men by road to get it quickly. 'Then,' he said, 'it must be got. Have you a sample?' I said that I would ask and tell him, and came down.

I then sent for the two pieces of broadcloth and 400 rupees, according to the Governor's orders of yesterday, to be given to the Moghul from Salabat Jang. Madanânda Pandit then came and asked if this was enough. I replied that that was the Governor's desire and that we had nothing to do with it. He observed that it would be indecent to offer less than 1,000 rupees. 'Then, you had better tell the Governor so,' I said. He replied that if the matter could be postponed, he would speak to the Governor and obtain his orders. So I put off the man's despatch and went to the office in the flower-garden.

Thursday, November 4.[1]—When I went to M. Guillard's this morning, he said, 'When I went to the Governor, he asked if I had appointed people for my country; so I shall send one to Tirukkôyilûr and another to Vriddhachalam.'—'That is good,' I replied, 'your orders are being obeyed there and no one else's. You appointed Contoir and nothing can be done

[1] *23rd Arppisi, Dhâthu.*

without him.' He answered, 'I do not wish to undertake the responsibility like M. Desvoeux. I will appoint a man nominally to remain there, report the daily news, and inform me of the money remittances and any misappropriations of the collections. That is all.' I replied that he might do anything he liked, as affairs were managed there according to his orders.

He then asked if the cost of the establishment at Vriddhachalam was 13,000 rupees a year. I replied, 'Under the Muhammadans, the country yielded a lakh and the expenditure was one-fourth of that; it has since been cut down, and you may do as you please.'

I then asked if he was going to Srîrangam. He replied, 'I am not very well. I am suffering from diarrhœa; but if I do not go, nobody can manage the business there.' I said, 'If you go, affairs here will be upset. You are the only man here thoroughly acquainted with business, and if you go, how will affairs get on?' He replied that, if he did not go, the Srîrangam affair would be ruined, and asked me about the business of M. Legou who was owed over 7,000 rupees. I replied that M. Legou's son had received 1,000 rupees and 300 pagodas, or more than 2,000 rupees and that the balance should be paid. 'But how can it be provided?' he asked. Thinking that the carriage and horse were worth 3,000 rupees,

I said that what he ordered should be carried out. He replied that, if a note were given on the country, he would get the amount. I replied, 'The country is yours and you may do as you please.'—'You had better go to the Governor,' he answered, 'and I will be there too.' I agreed and went to the Fort.

There I found the Governor had not yet dressed or come out, so I talked to M. d'Auteuil and M. Lenoir, until the Governor appeared. All three paid our respects to him and he returned his compliments and walked up and down with M. d'Auteuil.

M. Boyelleau then arrived with the account which he had had prepared in the country and had been brought by a man who accompanied him. I turned to Guruvappa Chetti and said, 'The day before yesterday the Governor spoke severely, and I explained the whole matter to M. Boyelleau yesterday. But he is still so foolish as to come to-day with the accounts. See how severely the Governor eyes him. Find out if the Villupuram inhabitants have come.' M. Boyelleau then approached the Governor and paid his respects to him, and going aside walked to and fro while the Governor talked with M. d'Auteuil. He was then told that the people of Villupuram were waiting downstairs. Again and again the Governor looked sarcastically at M. Boyelleau, as I had pointed out to

Guruvappa Chetti. At last M. Boyelleau went up to the Governor and said that he had brought the accounts. The Governor went at once into his room with M. Boyelleau, who called me. So I went, and M. Boyelleau told the Governor that the Villupuram accounts had been examined, and that the ryots were demanding 50 *per cent.* as their share, but that I had recommended only 30 or 35, while Pâpayya Pillai had allowed 40 and 45 *per cent.* The Governor asked me to explain. I replied, 'Pâpayya Pillai rented the land at 40 and 45 with a *tafrik*[1] of 25 *per cent.* which however he remitted owing to the troubles in the country. Under the Muhammadans, Anantayyan allowed only 30 and 35 *per cent.*; so I wrote that these rates should be allowed. [At 50 *per cent.*] the *izara beriz* of the country would be fixed at only 80,000 rupees instead of 1,50,000.' Kandappan interposed and said, 'If the country were mountainous or forest, 40 and 45 would be reasonable, but is not 30 *per cent.* enough for river-fed lands?' Thereon the Governor ordered the people to be sent for. On their arrival the Governor told them that he would allow them

[1] In revenue terminology, this may signify an additional assessment levied usually on cultivators who held an undue proportion of rent-free land. See Wilson's *Glossary*, s.v. In the present instance however the passage does not read as though this additional assessment were limited to particular landholders.

40 *per cent.* They replied that they should be allowed *pannaikkattu*[1] besides their share of 40 *per cent.* 'What is a *pannaikkattu*?' he asked. They answered that it was an allowance at the rate of 2 *kalams per* hundred. M. Boyelleau then proposed that they should be allowed a half-share, and when the Governor asked if 40 *per cent.* would not do, M. Boyelleau replied, 'Even that is unnecessary. They may be beaten with rods.'[2] The Governor was so angry at this that he told the people he would settle their business himself, and that they might go. They went out and I accompanied them, but M. Boyelleau remained talking to the Governor for another quarter of an hour. I do not know what passed between them; but M. Boyelleau left the accounts with him and came out in a great state of anger. The people also began to follow him; but he said that they need not come to him, as he had washed his hands of the business and that, as the Governor would settle their affair, they had better go to him. He then went home. I went to the office in the flower-garden.

At eleven o'clock I heard that Mudippîr Vîrarâghu was lying unconscious at the point of death. I therefore visited his house. On

[1] *i.e.*, an agreement to make a certain allowance to the cultivator.
[2] Sc. into compliance.

seeing me, he recovered consciousness a little, talked to me, gave me a golden spoon for Annâswâmi and requested me to take care of his parents. I promised to do so and then came home. I heard between half-past four and five in the evening, that Vîrarâghu reached the feet of God. I sent Tirumalai Pillai, with peons and harkaras, and the corpse was burnt at seven o'clock.

I write below what I forgot to write above about the Villupuram people's affair :—At the end the Governor asked me about the *mâniam* to which Gôpâlanârâyanappa Ayyan's son laid claim. I replied that these people had obtained a sanad for a *mâniam* from Chandâ Sâhib, but had plundered the country and done much to assist the English. The Governor in anger at this ordered the people to go away.

Friday, November 5.[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning, the Governor was upstairs in his room. I went up and found M. Lenoir there. The latter came to me and said that I must arrange to get him the village which he had asked for. I replied, 'How can I order one to be given you when the country is no longer under my control? I cannot give orders which I cannot enforce. How can I then

[1] *24th Arppisi, Dhâthu.*

write as things are now?' M. Lenoir said, 'The country will never be taken from you, for M. Leyrit likes you too much ; besides no one can take it from you for five years ; but are you justified in showing in the Company's accounts the 22,000 rupees due from M. du Bausset?' I replied that I had done so because he was a councillor and his village affair had been settled before the Governor. 'Why did you include the sureties' affairs and other items under which money is due to you?' M. Lenoir continued ; 'when the Governor saw this, he said that he would have to answer for all those items. Can you do so?'—I answered, 'M. Godeheu gave me the country. Are not those who received office from me answerable to me just as I am answerable to M. Leyrit for the duties he entrusts to me? Besides the Governor ordered me to punish nobody but said that he would enquire into every matter that I reported to him. I and he[1] had to report every trifle to him so that no one respected my authority. Besides this the *zamindars*[2] enjoyed the country for a year and four months but without paying anything, and yet the Governor did not check them but only told me to refund the money they had advanced, adding that I might manage the

[1] *Sic.* Ranga Pillai seems to mean himself and his agents.
[2] Apparently the sureties are meant.

country as I pleased. I agreed. Then he said that they complained that money was owing to them. I said that that could not be, but on the contrary, as they had appropriated large sums, they owed much. Instead of inquiring into the matter, the Governor listened to their words only and desired me to pay. I said I would, if he ordered me to. He gave the order and I paid them. When I told the Governor at the time the amounts paid to the commandants, he did not tell me not to pay. The commissaries explained the accounts to him and proved the truth of my statements. When I gave accounts of every item owed by every individual, he did nothing instead of strictly demanding the money from them. Thus the money due to the Company from the country has been scattered among many. Either he should fulfil his words and collect the money and credit it to the Company's accounts, or leave the management to me so that I might collect all dues, punish defaulters, and pay in the money. He has done neither. Some country was lost owing to the English troubles; and there were the losses owing to the commandants and sureties. So what can I do?' M. Lenoir replied, 'What you say is true. He should allow you to manage the country as you please, collect money where it is due, and punish people where necessary.

You will be in charge of the country and everything will be done as you desire.' So saying he went into the Governor's room and they both talked leisurely, walking up and down. As they did not come out, I went to the office in the flower-garden at ten o'clock.

As M. Boyelleau sent for me this evening, I sent Râmânji Pandit in advance, and went myself at five o'clock. He said, 'I was asked to sign the accounts which he had procured by going into the country and inquiring from my renters into the arrears of the total demand. I agreed and signed. Why does he[1] grow so angry with me?'[2] I replied that it was no use blaming him, for he was only venting his anger against me and that patience was best. He did not agree with me, and said, 'I cannot bear his anger. I will go to him to-morrow morning, take back my account, and return it with this one and come away saying that it is correct.' Thinking that he would not listen to my advice, I took leave and came home.

Monday, November 8.[3]—When I went to the Fort this morning and paid my respects to

[1] *i.e.*, the Governor.

[2] The passage seems corrupt. I suggest that we should read :— "I was asked" *for* "He said 'I was asked'," so as to identify the man who had procured the accounts with M. Boyelleau. The concluding question alone, I think, can have been spoken by M. Boyelleau.

[3] *27th Arppisi, Dhâthu.*

the Governor, he was upstairs. Afterwards, he, M. Guillard and M. Lenoir went into his room to confer. I went to the sorting-godown and, thinking that the Moghul from Salabat Jang need not be kept waiting any longer, but be sent away to-day, I took him to the Governor with the broad-cloth and the rupees. M. Lenoir who was just leaving the Governor after his interview, called me and said, 'The Governor has appointed me chief commissary and given me the account you gave him. He has also directed me to examine the three accounts of the commissaries. You have written that the whole amount has been paid in. Is that so? The Governor is pleased with you. The account shows how much has been paid in ready money. He told me to examine all the collection accounts and the account showing the amounts paid to the sureties and commandants during the troubles, and bring together all doubtful items so that they may be decided in Council. I am your man and you need not therefore be anxious.' I replied with suitable compliments and went aside. M. Guillard met me, and having told me to send Râmânji Pandit to him, went away. Having sent Râmânji Pandit to M. Guillard's house, I took him[1] to the Governor who gave

[1] The Moghul.

him a piece of broad-cloth and 400 rupees, and his attendant 100 rupees and despatched him with the letter for Salabat Jang.

The Governor then called me and said, 'I have appointed M. Lenoir to examine your accounts and those of the commissaries. You must prove your accounts to his satisfaction.' I replied, 'I will do so. I am your man dependent on your favour, and I shall behave so as to deserve it.' I then went to the office in the flower-garden.

Râmânji Pandit came to me and reported as follows :—'When I went to M. Guillard and discussed matters with him, he said, "I told the Governor that although he had decided the Srîrangam affair in favour of Vîrarâghava Chetti and signed the accounts, yet he had left the management of my country to Europeans who knew nothing about it, and would pay nothing, whereas Rangappan was a respectable man whom three successive Governors had held in high esteem and for whom they had obtained presents even from Europe, and that he was sure to give great satisfaction. The Governor was kind, and in three days the country will undoubtedly be put in Rangappan's possession, and he need not see M. Desvoeux at all. If the latter sends for him, you had better go alone. In two or three days, there will be a change. M. Boyelleau

and the Governor do not agree, and the latter is very angry. Your affair had to be taken up in the middle of this, so there has been some delay ; but everything will be settled shortly. Tell Rangappan therefore that he need not be anxious".'

When I went to send the Moghul away, I heard that the Governor had decided to get 500 maunds of silk,—two or three *râsis*[1] of Saidâbâd silk, two or three *râsis* of Râdântaga[2] silk and two or three *râsis* of Surat twisted silk—for the Madras merchants who are to pay him 25 *per cent.* commission, the cost price and expenses. A letter had been given to that effect.

I hear that yesterday morning, the Governor and other Europeans who watched through a telescope the passage of Mercury by the Sun remarked that Mercury was black, and that, when asked why this was, replied that that was due to its passing by the Sun.

Wednesday, November 10[3].—I could not go to the Fort this morning but remained at home, as I had diarrhœa.

Mêlugiri Chetti came to me and reported that Râmayya Pillai (the Second's dubâsh) had told him of the conversation between the Governor and the Second yesterday as reported

[1] See Wilson's Glossary *s.v.* [2] Probably Râdhânagar.
[3] *29th Arppisi, Dhâthu.*

to the dubâsh by the Second :—'When the Second went to the Governor yesterday the latter said, "M. Desvoeux has paid in 85,000 rupees for the country in his possession, but M. Boyelleau only 25,000 for his, although the latter has more country than the former. I had said nothing. But though this was so, he[1] brought his accounts to me, said I might give his country also to M. Desvoeux and get money, and went away." The Second replied, "What have M. Boyelleau and M. Desvoeux to do with the country? The country is Rangappan's and we must settle his accounts, after deducting what he has paid. The council's resolution was to send them to the country to examine the accounts and return. Did the council ask them to divide the country and enjoy it? You do everything without consulting the council. I shall say to-morrow that I know nothing about it. I tell you plainly that I will have nothing to do with this business. The country belongs to the Muhammadans and these men have nothing to do with it. You bestow this man's property on that man and that man's property on this and you will be held responsible for everything. I have explained the whole case to you but you have done nothing, so I too have

[1] M. Boyelleau.

done nothing. But as you have now summoned me, I tell you that in money matters you must be very careful, for the country is going to ruin, and you will be held responsible. As for Rangappan, he tells me everything on the spot. I tell you all this because you ask my opinion ; but you are at liberty to do as you please ".' Mêlugiri Chetti added that the Second had said that, as the Governor remained silent, he left him.

Friday, November 12.[1]—Owing to the severe rain from this morning and my attack of diarrhœa, I did not go out.

Periyanna Mudali came to me and said, 'When M. du Bausset went to the Second's house on the 10th of November, there were present, the Second and M. Collé, the Bengal councillor. When they were all talking together, M. Lenoir came there and said that you had produced accounts for the past two years and paid in the balance of the *izara* amount, deducting certain items, the admission of which is disputed. M. Lenoir then gave the account to M. Barthélemy saying that the Governor had told him to examine its accuracy. M. Barthélemy, he and M. Collé then examined the accounts and against his name[2] was entered 22,000 rupees. He said that

[1] *1st Kârttigai, Dhâthu.* [2] M. du Bausset's presumably.

he owed you 22,000 rupees, adding that accounts must be settled between him and you about this item, and that you as izaradar should receive remission of the losses you have sustained by the troubles and want of rain. The Second and M. Collé agreed and said that some abatement should be allowed. On hearing their unanimous opinion, M. Lenoir said that he would communicate it to the Governor, and went away. A council will be held in three or four days. M. Boyelleau, M. Barthélemy, M. Delarche and M. La Serre are M. du Bausset's friends, and M. Guillard and M. Lenoir are yours ; so though the Governor and M. Desvoeux will be together, they can do nothing. If the Governor does not act properly, they will not keep quiet but write to Europe. When he departed, M. Godeheu made M. Leyrit the Governor of the town, and you Governor of the country. And as M. Godeheu appointed M. Leyrit to succeed him, the latter cannot take the country from you. He can only demand the rents. Without consulting the others in the Srîrangam affair, the Governor, M. Guillard, M. Desvoeux, M. La Serre and M. Collé all signed the paper, but, when it reached the others, they refused to sign it because they did not approve of it. M. du Bausset asked me yesterday afternoon to tell you that you need not remain at home

in anxiety, but be cheerful and come out as usual.' Having reported this, Periyanna Mudali went away.

Sunday, November 14.[1]—Of late I have been unwell, suffering from loss of appetite, weakness and lassitude; moreover I have had a pain above the hip, besides diarrhœa. Vaippûr Sîtârâma Jôsier predicted a period of misfortune in the 48th year of my age, commencing at about half-past four on the 30th October. However, there was no sign of misfortune till 1st November, but from the 2nd when the Governor began to get angry with me, my troubles have been increasing. Vaippûr Subbâ Jôsier predicted that my troubles would last till the 1st December. Reflecting therefore that it was a time of misfortune for me, I stayed at home.

Sunday, November 28.[2]—Being unwell, I did not go to the Fort this morning, but stayed at home.

The *Indien* which set sail for Europe last month with the 160 Company's bales, 40 bales from Mascareigne, and 30 or 40 bales of the councillors had orders to call at Mahé and take in red-wood, 500 bags of cowries and 500 bags of pepper. A letter which arrived last night from Mahé says that two English ships

[1] *3rd Kârttigai, Dhâthu.* [2] *17th Kârttigai, Dhâthu.*

have seized her off the Mahé roads and taken her to Tellicherry.[1] I hear that for this reason a council was held on the councillors' return from church. Mr. Lawrence reached Fort St. David with 300 soldiers from Madras on Thursday last.

[1] She was captured by the Company's ship the *Revenge*, Captain William James. The Mahé council offered to ransom her for bills drawn on the French Company, but the captors declined. The *Indien* was a vessel of 650 tons, and carried 20 guns and 205 men. Depositions regarding her capture are recorded in the Madras *Public Consultations*, May 3, 1757.

DECEMBER 1756.

Wednesday, December.[1]—My ill-health kept me at home to-day also. It was also raining.

Gaudiya Pillai came to me with the following message from Bâpu Râo:—'When I went to the Governor early this morning, M. Desvoeux being sent for cheerfully went upstairs to the Governor's room. They talked about an hour, M. Desvoeux in a very low and the Governor in a loud voice. Your name was mentioned four or five times in the conversation. Never before had the Governor talked so loud and the whole building shook when he spoke. M. Desvoeux returned home looking very downcast.' I think that, as to-day is pay-day, he is angry about the money from the country.

I hear that M. Desvoeux delivered to M. [Le] Noir this morning 3,743 pagodas and 8,067 rupees on account of the country revenues, and that, when the Governor learnt this from M. [Le] Noir, he sent for M. Desvoeux and spoke angrily with him.

Friday, December 10.[2]—I stayed at home this day owing to my sickness. I hear that M. Guillard went to the Governor early

[1] *20th Kârttigai, Dhâthu.* [2] *29th Kârttigai, Dhâthu.*

this morning and said, 'Though I sent a man with orders about the Tirukkôyilûr affair, Contoir disregarded them and wrote lies to you, when you wrote to him asking him to send money. M. Aumont has been doing as he pleases. Is he justified in doing so?' I hear that the Governor thereupon wrote to Contoir to send M. Aumont to Gingee.[1]

When M. Guillard had left the Governor, M. Boyelleau went and obtained his signature to an order on the Pondichery mint for the exchange into Pondichery rupees of the 25,000 Arcot rupees issued to him (after paying 5,000 Arcot rupees to Kandappa Mudali) out of the 30,000 Arcot rupees which Kangipâti Vîrâ-râghava Chetti obtained from a European as a loan on a bond for 30,000 Pondichery rupees on account of the Srîrangam affair. M. Desvoeux then went and talked to the Governor, after which he went and told M. Guillard that, when the Governor had ordered him to send people to Tirukkôyilûr and Vriddhachalam, he had refused on the score of their friendship. M. Guillard asked M. Desvoeux why the country in his possession had been transferred to him, adding

[1] Gingee was the "penal" station of the French.

[2] The Pondichery rupee was somewhat better than the Arcot rupee. The Madras Council in 1766 reckoned them 15/16 *per cent.* better. (*Public Consultations*, May 8, 1766, p. 213.)

angrily that he might send people if he pleased. Thereon M. Desvoeux went home.

Monday, December 13 to Thursday, December 16.[1]—I did not go out these days owing to my ill-health and constipation, but I hear that, when Nârâyana Sâstri and Ayyan Sâstri were taken to M. Desvoeux on the 13th by Savarirâyan, M. Desvoeux told them to be ready with accounts; they agreed and had them ready on the 16th and Anga Pillai of Chidambaram has arrived. I also hear that, in expectation of war, batteries are being raised at Madras, houses are being pulled down, and all preparations are being made; Munawar Khân is said to be crossing the passes with 10,000 horse, and M. Bussy and others are coming by land. It is not known whether Muhammad 'Alî Khân has yet reached Trichinopoly.

Monday, December 20.[2]—To-day also I have not been well. I have not learnt what M. Desvoeux and Savarirâya Pillai told the Governor about the country affair, or what the latter replied. But I write below what I have heard:—These two men wrote to the amaldârs of the country and sent guards and sepoys to fetch them. Ayyan Sâstri of Wandiwash, Nârâyana Sâstri of Gingee, Muttu

[1] *2nd Mârgali, Dhâthu, to 5th Mârgali, Dhâthu.*
[2] *9th Mârgali, Dhâthu.*

Mallâ Reddi of Tindivanam, Muttu Venkatarâma Reddi of Karunguli, Anga Pillai of Chidambaram and the Bhuvanagiri *nâttârs* came. Ayyan Sâstri and Nârâyana Sâstri gave M. Desvoeux my letter telling them to deduct what was spent on presents and contingencies from the amount collected and sent, and enter the balance in the accounts to be adjusted as part of the rent. They also stated what sums they had paid for presents and contingencies. I hear that the rest have been asked to give similar statements. I am not at all anxious about these items, because they have already been deducted at my request; and sometimes I have been paid on that account and sometimes not. Moreover I have already given a signed account to M. Boyelleau of the amounts thus paid. So I do not mind their giving statements about this, for it is a matter well known to the Governor and the councillors. But M. Desvoeux, considering it a serious matter, mentioned it to the Governor as an irregularity he had discovered, giving him my letter which he had obtained from Ayyan Sâstri. The Governor kept it and asked him about the money. Thereon M. Desvoeux made the amaldârs disburse. I hear that Ayyan Sâstri offered 35,000 rupees—20,000 rupees to the Governor, 10,000 to M. Desvoeux, 4,000 to Savarirâya Pillai and

1,000 to various other people. M. Desvoeux mentioned this to the Governor, who ordered in writing that Ayyan Sâstri need not make good what was paid for presents and contingencies, but only the balance still due. I hear that this procedure will be adopted throughout the country, so that the Governor may get something for himself, and the rest may manage their business as they please. I am much surprised at all this. The collections in the country belong to the Company; yet the Governor ordered sums to be paid to the officers when they demanded money for standing sureties; and the commandants also have received money. This has led to the decay of cultivation. When these matters were reported to the Governor, he did not ever trouble to enquire. In the sowing season itself he sent councillors into the country, thus causing great loss. They were then put in possession of the country, with M. Desvoeux in charge of the whole. To crown all, he has now remitted the balances. I have had nothing to do with all this. I received a receipt showing that M. Desvoeux had paid today to the Company on account of the country revenue 1,400 odd Arni, Star, and Porto Novo pagodas and 17,000 odd rupees.

I hear from Arcot that Muhammad 'Alî Khân has fasted for four days, 'Abd-ul-wahâb

Khân and Muhammad 'Alî Khân's mother are dying, Muhammad 'Alî Khân has lost two sons and two daughters, half the English have died, 10,000 people have died at Arcot, Vellore and Lâlâpêttai and as many are dying in those parts, of fever and small-pox, so that some are leaving their homes.

Pâpayya Pillai who has been in custody, on learning that Kâsi Tambirân has been ailing, set out to see him with his sons Alankâra Pillai and another, a boy, in a covered palankin and other marks of honour. He visited the Tambirân, offering him a nazar of five pagodas and receiving a shawl and a pair of cloths in return. Alankâra Pillai also received a shawl and the other boy a laced upper cloth. When Kandappan the Governor's dubâsh heard that Pâpayya Pillai had returned with presents, he grew jealous. Now when Pâpayya Pillai's cattle were formerly seized by the Company, Kandappan assisted him to recover them, for which service Pâpayya Pillai promised him some cattle ; but this promise he did not keep, nor did he make any present in acknowledgment of other help he had received. Kandappan therefore could not bear to see him, though in custody, go out with honour in a palankin, with many persons attending on him. Moved by all this, Kandappan reported the matter to the Governor

against Pâpayya Pillai. The Governor, in anger, asked the captain of the guard, the officers and their commandants, how a prisoner could be permitted to go out, and others freely admitted to see and speak with him; and then ordered them and the sepoys to be shut up in the dungeon, and another officer with sepoys detailed to guard him with strict orders not to let him out of the gate or let people talk to him. Pâpayya Pillai let M. du Bausset at the Fort know of this, and the latter asked Kandappan if he could justify what he had done. Kandappan replied that though he had got Pâpayya Pillai's cattle back, the other had not given him what he had promised, nor had behaved properly in several other affairs; and yet he had not reported these matters to the Governor, but that, when the Governor, having heard of this affair from others questioned him about this, he had replied that it was true. Thereon, M. du Bausset sent for Pâpayya Pillai's man and ordered him angrily to tell Pâpayya Pillai to give Kandappan what had been promised.

Tuesday, December 21.[1]—When I was at home to-day, I heard that M. Lambert and M. Chaubourg[2] who were imprisoned in the

[1] *10th Mârgali, Dhâthu.*

[2] Not identified; a conjectural transliteration.

Fort on the 6th[1] for attempting to induce sepoys to desert with them to the north, were released to-day and M. Chaubourg given an appointment in the hospital, while M. Lambert has been directed to march to Srîrangam with 100 soldiers. Moreover the Governor is said to have given Kandappa Mudali, his dubâsh, a palankin and a signet ring with an escort of 15 sepoys and 15 peons, and ordered him to take Arumpâtai Vinâyaka Pillai's man, and Kumâraswâmi (broker Nallatambi Mudali's son). Kandappa Mudali passed out of the Fort in Vinâyaka Pillai's palankin with these people. No one has been informed of M. Lambert's despatch to Srîrangam with a hundred soldiers or of Kandappan's departure with the Governor's signet. I expect that they are going with the Governor's orders to seize the property said to be lying in great store in Srîranganâyaka's temple at Srîrangam and to bring it here.

A *Pandâram*[2] who has been appointed in place of Ambalathâdi Ayyan was taken in procession to-night along the streets in a palankin with his disciples, accompanied by 100 torches, coloured lights, music, flags and umbrellas.

[1] *Sic.* Lambert was arrested on the night of August 31/September 1 (Âvani 19/20). See above, p. 188.

[2] See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.*

[*Thursday, December 23*].[1]—When I was at home this morning, the elephant-keeper came and said that the legs of the elephant which was in rut and which therefore had not been taken out, had swollen, and that it should be led out and brought back again. The man made this same request four days ago when I told him that he might do so after the 25th[2] as by then my period of misfortune would be over. So when he reminded me of my order, I permitted him to do so. However, as he was driving the elephant along the streets and I heard that it was passing east of Muttiya Pillai's house, I remembered that this elephant had killed a man and that the Governor had ordered it to be shot. I was afraid therefore that if it passed by the Fort and the Governor saw it, he might order it to be shot lest it should do further mischief; and so going out into the street, I sent people to take the elephant round by the west. Accordingly the driver brought his elephant into my street and drove him along it from east to west and from west to east. At last it was brought up from the western end and halted on the northern

[1] *12th Mârgali, Dhâthu.* The Madras transcript has *Friday, December 14.* The equivalent of the Tamil date is given in square brackets, but the references to the 14th below, which coincide with the astrologer's prediction already mentioned (p. 272 *supra*), suggest that the date should really be *14th Mârgali* or December 25.

[2] See note above.

side by the Mission church. I told the driver angrily to take the elephant back and tie it up. But it rushed at me; I moved a few paces westwards; but again it made a rush towards my house, and struck a pillar of the verandah, breaking many tiles. It was again driven from the east to west and back again, and then led to the place where it is usually tied up. Afterwards all the towns-people came to see me. I said to them, 'Sîtârâma Jôsier had predicted in *Krôdhana*[1] that, on the 19th *Arppisi*[2], in my 48th year at about half-past four, there would begin for me a time of misfortune. Again his elder brother's son Subbâ Jôsier, predicted that as Mangathâyi Ammâl had died in *Chittirai*, I should not be in any danger and should live to be 96, that I would escape a danger in *Arppisi*, that my period of misfortune would extend from the 20th *Arppisi* to the 14th *Mârgali*, but that the evil influence of Jupiter would then weaken. The evil influence of Saturn has been proved by the elephant, and, as was predicted, I have escaped danger. As it was a time of misfortune for me, every one pilfered the money from the country instead of sending it to me; moreover the harvest was bad; and I fell into arrears to

[1] 1745-1746. [2] October 3.

the Company; the Governor did not inquire into this but entrusted the country management to M. Desvoeux, who, in turn, entrusted the management to Savarirâya Pillai. All this ended in loss and there was not enough money for this year (*Dhâthu*). I thought that this was all; but then unexpectedly befell this danger from the elephant which I have just escaped.'

Afterwards a receipt was brought to me for 17,000 rupees said to have been paid to the Company by M. Desvoeux on the 12th on account of the country revenue, and I heard that, on the news of M. Desvoeux' having attached Chinnapâpasamudram and Perumukkal, M. du Bausset had gone to the Fort, and returned home. I hear that he summoned his writer and told him that he could not ascertain what Pâpayya Pillai had done with the accounts that he had foolishly entrusted to him, but that it was no use mentioning the past and that they must find out what had become of the accounts, and keep the remaining accounts in a box, sealed with the seal which he had given for the purpose, and report what had been done.

Annâswâmi had fever on the 12th[1]. He was made to fast and given a decoction four

[1] *i.e.*, I presume, the 12th *Mârgali*, or 23rd December.

times ; he was made to fast again to-day and given a decoction thrice.

Sunday, December 26.[1]—The news I heard to-day when I stayed at home :—When God wishes to bring ruin upon people, He sends famine, pestilence, plague and small-pox. I hear that many have died at Arcot, Vellore and Lâlâpêttai, Wandiwash and other places, of plague and small-pox. People in the country are relating the following story to account for this :—A certain Goddess, coming from Kadanmai[2], reached Arcot and appeared to men in dreams, declaring that she had come to devour the whole country, and would only depart if an elephant, 10 horses, 120 pallas of cooked rice, 100 goats and 50 he-buffaloes, besides liquor and meat, were offered her as a sacrifice with worship ; the Muhammadans and English ridiculed this ; but as 15,000 people—Europeans, Muhammadans, Pariahs and Hindustanis and other classes of people—had died in Arcot alone, every one, even the Europeans, tied margosa leaves, offered flour and cooked rice ; and there have been no subsequent deaths among those who made these offerings.

[1] *15th Mârgali, Dhâthu.*

[2] Perhaps Kadambai, a village in the South Arcot district or Kadambê in North Arcot.

Another story says that a certain Goddess set out from Mysore, accompanied by a lakh of horses, elephants and men, drums, dancing, music, torches, coloured lights, etc., in order to bathe in the sea. She was seen in Tiruvannâmalai and those parts, hanging from a tree by day like a bat, and at night encamping in a meadow after having slain many; but the Gods of those places are said to be angry with this Goddess for intruding into their country. Many heads of horses and elephants were seen hanging from tamarind trees, and at sunrise pools of blood were seen on the ground. On hearing these strange stories, the Governor, councillors and others in the town have ordered margosa *tôranams* to be tied in the several streets and leaves to be inserted on the eaves of houses. The Muhammadans and Europeans have done the same for their elephants and horses, and they even wear margosa leaves in their turbans. This is the talk in the town.

I hear that M. Desvoeux and Savarirâya Pillai have appointed Ioannes and Periyanna Mudali, izaradars of Chûnâmpattu and Asuppûr, respectively, and that Villupuram is to be leased out to Bâli Chetti and Bâlâji Pandit through M. Delarche for 75,000 rupees. The Company's *beriz* for *Dhâthu* is 1,85,000 rupees for Villupuram, but it has been decided

to rent it 1,10,000 rupees less, that is, for 75,000. In return for this, they have promised to pay 10,000 rupees to M. Desvoeux and 5,000 to Savarirâya Pillai. I am indeed astonished to learn this.

Monday, December 27.[1]—I write below the contents of Ayyâ Pillai's letter from Villiyanallûr :—

'With humble submission to Râjamânya Mahârâja Râja Srî Avargal : At four o'clock this evening, Goddess Mâriyamman[2] appeared in human form in the Sundara Vinâyakar temple south of Villiyanallûr. I paid my respects to the Goddess who said, "Of the five deities who set out, four have gone southwards and I have come here ; if within an hour I am given a silk cloth, with anklets and bracelets, a basket of flour and a village[3], good ; but otherwise, I cannot say what will be the fate of this village." Promising to give them, I led her to the Ammachiyâr temple and gave her a silk cloth 10 cubits long, saying, "Bracelets and anklets cannot be had at once, so I will give their value in rupees." She replied, "Of what use are rupees to me ?

[1] *16th Mârgali, Dhâthu.*

[2] The Goddess of small-pox and other evils.

[3] *Kuppam*, literally a fishing village. This demand seems so disproportioned to the others that a corruption of the text is probable. Perhaps we should read *kumbham*, an offering.

Jewels I can wear, and, if they are not given, I shall depart." I replied that they would take three days to make. "I will remain till then," she answered. I replied that I would give an order to the goldsmith. Be pleased therefore to instruct me in writing what I should do.'

I replied as follows:—'I received your letter to-day and was astonished at its contents. I had only heard that the Goddess had appeared in Arcot and those parts, in dreams and not in human form, as the Goddess has appeared to you. You and the rest are indeed favoured thus to see her and pay her your respects. Henceforward I must regard you as divine. Nevermore will you be born in human shape, but become as the Gods themselves. It has been reported from Arcot that the Goddess has three breasts and two organs of generation, and that she said that she would depart if a man with two organs of generation were brought to her. Make enquiries about this; if this be the Goddess you have seen, you must all be highly gifted people. If you will show her such a man, she will depart. I hear that you and the Villiyanallûr people are wise, therefore enquire and write.'

The Governor has returned from Olukarai and the Second is staying at his garden. There is no other news.

Tuesday, December 28.[1]—At my house this morning at eleven o'clock two Germans came and said that the Governor had ordered the horses in my stables to be seized. I heard that when horses were demanded of Vinâyaka Pillai, he gave only two horses and a few fanams to the Europeans who came; and when they came to my stables demanding mine, they had these two with them. I told them I would speak to the Governor about it and sent them away. I then sent Guruvappa Chetti and Muttu Chetti to speak to the Governor about it and obtain his orders; but they returned in fear without having spoken to the Governor. Later on, at noon, ten Germans came, seized the horses at my stables and house, and kept them in the Fort till evening. When the Governor had inspected them, he kept the horse that I bought for 1,200 rupees from Kônêri Nâyakkan, the Turaiyûr vakîl; the carriage horse bought at auction by M. Carvalho for 600 rupees, and that purchased for 1,000 rupees from Chinniya Nâyakkan of Masulipatam, and returned the rest. I hear that my horses and seven others—ten in all—will be sent to Srîrangam.

[1] *17th Mârgali, Dhâthu.*

Wednesday, December 29.[1]—The news at my house to-day was as follows :—Annâswâmi has had small-pox these five days and to-day the pocks were heavy and full of matter. I received a letter from Villiyanallûr about the appearance of Goddess Mâriyamman there, and I replied to it. I hear that a Reddi's son of Êvambalam has been these two days in Villiyanallûr, saying that he is God Venkatâchalapati[2]; hearing this, a European in Villiyanallûr sent a peon to lead the man possessed of Mâriyamman beyond the river in Villiyanallûr, but to seize and bring to him the man possessed of God Venkatâchalapati. The latter is said to have fled, and the former who was taken across the river declared before going that she had visited Wandiwash (where the servant-maid of a Reddi has had an attack of small-pox).

At seven o'clock to-night, M. Dulaurens' son-in-law[3] sent word through his dubâsh that the Governor had received a communication about my affair, which he had discussed with M. Saubinet who had informed him; that the contents (they say) will be revealed in

[1] *18th Mârgali, Dhâthu.*

[2] The deity worshipped at Tirupati.

[3] In 1746 Marie-Françoise Dulaurens married Jean-Baptiste Barthélemy described as aged 30 and son of Édmond Barthélemy, of Paris. I conjecture he was a relative of the councillor of that name, and that Ranga Pillai describes him thus for the sake of distinguishing the two.

two or three days, and, if I promised not to manage affairs as formerly by M. Boyelleau, M. Barthélemy and M. du Bausset, but through him, he would inform me of the contents, have the affair settled, and manage it under me; [the dubâsh said] that he knew nothing more about it. I said I would promise as desired, and asked the dubâsh to find out more about it and tell me. I have thought over this, but cannot come to any definite opinion about it.

Friday, December 31.[1]—To-day also I had to keep the house.

I hear that, when M. Guillard sent for Râmânji Pandit and asked him why Muhî-ud-dîn Sâhib had been sent away without his permission, Râmânji Pandit replied that he had been sent away because M. Aumont had dismissed every one; that, when he departed, he said his wife was unwell and declared in writing that he would return in a week's time and do as promised. I hear that because this man was sent away without [M. Guillard's] knowledge, [Râmânji Pandit] has been ordered into custody in the Nayinâr's house. When I sent Bâpu Râo to ask M. Guillard about the matter, I learnt that he was in custody for not having given in his accounts. I conclude that all this has been done on the words of the dubâsh.

[1] *20th Mârgali, Dhâthu.*

JANUARY 1757.

Sunday, January 2.[1]—I heard when I was in my house that, when Savarirâya Pillai took the amaldârs to visit M. Desvoeux with nazars, Ayyan Sâstri spoke words of compliment to M. Desvoeux, adding that Savarirâya Pillai had to walk, as he had not been given a palankin, and requesting orders for it. But M. Desvoeux only nodded his head and arranged for the nazars to be given to the Governor by the amaldârs during their visit. It was decided that 470 pagodas should be given at the rate of 25 pagodas a lakh, and that that amount must be got ready.

I hear that M. Desvoeux sent a note to-night requesting the Governor to visit his house. On reading the note, the Governor went to M. Desvoeux' house, where the amaldârs gave nazars and paid him their respects, but when the pagodas were counted, there were only 461 pagodas instead of 470.

Ayyan Sâstri told the Governor at M. Desvoeux' house that he had had experience of managing the country under the Muhammadans and Marathas, and that he perceived Desvoeux Sâhib's management to be better than theirs, for he knew all the secrets of the

[1] *22nd Mârgali, Dhâthu.*

country and examined the accounts without detriment either to the amaldârs or cultivators, and with regard for the Company's revenue, and that he had not taken up the lease for the sake of whatever profit and *mâniam*, etc., could be got, but only in order to have some concern with cultivation, that as he had eaten the Company's bread, he would see it suffered no loss, and that therefore he would pay the Company, only reserving enough for maintenance and the expenses. I hear that the Governor was overjoyed at this.

I also hear that Savarirâya Pillai and the amaldârs gave M. Desvoeux an account for *Dhâthu*[1] of the *beriz* and perquisites for the country amounting to 27 or 28 lakhs with details for each pargannah to be submitted to the Governor and that the amaldârs have been given the option to remit the arrears for *Bhava*[2] and *Yuva*[3] as they please on their agreeing to give nazars to the Governor, M. Desvoeux, Savarirâya Pillai, Tândavarâya Pillai and Savarirâya Pillai's younger brother.

Monday, January 3.[4]—This morning I sent Guruvappa Chetti to dubâsh Kandappa Mudali to inform him that I had sent word to the Company's merchants and *mahânâttârs* to come on Wednesday the 5th to pay their New

[1] 1756-57. [2] 1754-55. 1755-56.
[4] *23rd Mârgali, Dhâthu.*

Year's visit to the Governor, and that as my health was now better, I also would visit the Governor to-morrow or the day after. Guruvappa Chetti carried this message accordingly to the dubâsh who took him to the Governor and informed him of it. Guruvappa Chetti, on his return, said that the Governor had replied joyously that it might be done.

I sent for the Nayinâr, head-peon, and told him according to custom to tell the townspeople and those of the bound-villages to be ready on the night of Tuesday. I sent word also to the Company's merchants, and sent Guntûr Râmajûla Chetti to tell the Villiyanallûr people to come.

I hear that M. Desvoeux paid the Company 2,790 rupees and 5,130 pagodas to-day. ..

I also heard at seven o'clock to-night that messengers delivered letters from Mahé to the Governor and that two Portuguese ships had arrived from Mahé with Europe letters, on the delivery of which the Governor had visited M. Desvoeux' house.

Subbarâya Pillai, the lessee of Vriddhachalam, visited M. Guillard with a nazar of 60 rupees for the New Year. I hear that M. Guillard took Subbarâya Pillai to visit the Governor with a nazar of 111 rupees.

I hear that, when Ayyan Sâstri left his place, he took a vow to feed 1,000 Brâhmans

at Villiyanallûr, at a cost of 100 pagodas, to give jewels to Kôkilâmbâl[1] worth 100 pagodas, and to his wife worth 500 pagodas, if his affairs here prospered as he wished. As his affairs have turned out well, he has set out for Villiyanallûr a day in advance to prepare for the feeding of the thousand Brâhmans at Mysore Venkatanâranappa Ayyan's house.

Wednesday, January 12.[2]—I went to the Fort this morning, visited the Governor, stayed upstairs with him till ten o'clock, then went to the office in the flower-garden, and came home at noon.

Afterwards M. Boyelleau sent me the following message about his conversation with the Governor on November 7 when the management of the country was taken away. The message was as follows :—'I told the Governor that, when M. Godeheu arrived, he learnt of the injustice done in the town under the government of M. Dupleix and the behaviour of the councillors, officers and other Europeans in the country management, and, after making proper enquiries, he decided to give the management to M. Delarche, and the lease to Rangappa Mudali. The rent was raised by 1½ lakhs of rupees, and all but the European officials were ordered to render daily

[1] The Goddess of the Villiyanallûr temple.
[2] *3rd Tai, Dhâthu.*

accounts to you, reporting the news to you and obeying your orders. Thus you were given all authority to punish and protect. Besides this he appointed you Governor and me to the careful and proper management of the country. Should any difficulties arise in the course of management, I was to report them to the council and abide by its decision. I have the order with me, so I can speak to him[1] and before the Council as responsible for the efficient management of the country. I said that though I had given in all accounts, he might rest assured that I would manage the country and represent matters before the council. He then asked me if the Company only paid me for transacting your business and remaining here and I replied that it rested on the same authority as that by which M. Godeheu had appointed him Governor and that therefore I would enquire into and manage affairs. I then came away.'

I sent answer to M. Boyelleau by the dubâsh that the Governor had resented his mentioning M. Godeheu's order and told me angrily, when I went to pay him my respects for the New Year, that I had given in false accounts ; that I had replied that I had neither deceived him nor given false accounts ; but that I had taken

[1] *i.e.*, the Governor.

the lease from the Company and paid in the rent; that I had given him an account of the amounts paid to be adjusted in the accounts in the names of the several persons; that the renters were responsible for any mistakes, and not I; that I had till then behaved to the satisfaction of every Governor and not otherwise; that I would endeavour to do the same in future; that I had only incurred his displeasure owing to my evil stars; and that I was waiting for his favour; but that he had replied angrily that his favour was of no use to me as I had every one except him on my side.

M. Guillard's dubâsh came to me and said that M. Guillard wanted to see me at his house this evening and that he would be waiting for me. I sent back word that I could not go to him this evening but would call to-morrow morning.

M. Boyelleau's dubâsh came to me to-night and said, 'When I reported to M. Boyelleau what you had told me, he observed that you need not be anxious about the Governor's words, for though he[1] had spoken thus, he had told the Governor personally and had sent word to him by M. Lenoir three or four times that he would certainly talk fully to the Governor if

[1] *i.e.*, the Governor.

there was any reference to the affairs of the country, and that though such words might have angered him, he could not do anything, for, in 20 days, ships would arrive with letters and presents from the Company and ministers, giving him[1] as much authority as M. Godeheu had given him or even more, when he would be all powerful in the town, and that he thought that orders would be received about my affair, so that I should wait patiently for 20 days until he should have become all powerful in the town.' He also spoke about other matters.

Thursday, January 13.[2]—When I went to M. Guillard's house this morning, he said, 'I have received a letter from Tirukkôyilûr saying that Contoir lent you 25,000 rupees. What is this?' I replied, 'I do not know him nor have I borrowed anything from him. I gave the lease to Abu Muhammad with Tiruchelvarâya Mudali as surety. This is all I know. I repeat that I have borrowed nothing from him and that I do not know him.' — 'But that is what he has written,' he replied.

I then asked why he had imprisoned Râmânji Pandit. He replied, 'I sent a peon to Tirukkôyilûr to bring Muhî-ud-dîn Sâhib, and then had him imprisoned in the Nayinâr's

[1] *i.e.*, M. Boyelleau. [2] *4th Tai, Dhâthu.*

house. But Râmânji Pandit sent a note without telling me, released him and sent him away to his place. That is why I sent for and imprisoned him.' I replied, 'I am not going to discuss this matter with you now. When the proper time comes, a decision will be given according to the proofs you bring.' Thereon M. Guillard said that he had Râmânji Pandit's note ordering the man's release. 'Of what use is that?' I replied. 'Formerly people who wished to go out took passes from me. After Pâpayya Pillai received the management, that ceased ; and since the management was given to me, I have ordered Râmânji Pandit and the Nayinâr to give passes to officials who wished to go out. Râmânji Pandit acted accordingly ; and on the strength of his pass, you have imprisoned him. We will talk of it later. Aumont, who is at Tirukkôyilûr, has driven away several people from that place. Before Muhî-ud-dîn Sâhib went away, he visited me to take my leave, as in the meantime he had received news of his wife's illness, and he wanted permission to go and return. I received a note from him promising to return in 8 days and sent him away. This is all that has taken place. Your people did not obstruct him or bring him or imprison him in the Nayinâr's house. But you have done so.' He replied that he would enquire into it. I

replied that he might make any enquiries he pleased and that I would discuss the matter at the proper time. He continued, 'This affair breaks my head. I shall tell the Governor that I do not want the appointment, and give it up.' He talked about other matters for half an hour. I took leave and went to my office in the flower-garden.

FEBRUARY 1757.

Tuesday, February 1.[1]—I went to the Fort this morning, as the Governor was going to inspect the troops on parade, and I paid my respects to him along with the Company's merchants. He just glanced at us and passed on. He looked dejected. We discussed this, and went to the sorting-godown. I reflected that two messengers had come last night, one from Surat and the other from Salabat Jang. The Surat messenger's letter, I hear, said that letters had come from Europe saying that the French had seized two large and strongly fortified towns possessed by the English in Europe—Port Mahon and another, so that the Governor was very joyous last night. But to-day he looked dejected. Why? Perhaps his private news is not encouraging. Afterwards Madame Boyelleau's son came and said, 'The Surat messenger brought letter from Europe last night from M. Boyelleau's brothers and his brother-in-law saying that M. Godeheu is very well-disposed towards M. Boyelleau, that M. Godeheu is very healthy and his words are much regarded

[1] *23rd Tai, Dhâthu.*

by the Company; that he is daily speaking of M. Boyelleau in high terms to the Company, and that therefore you will be yet more prosperous. M. Godeheu has also written a letter to M. Boyelleau, but I do not know its contents. If you will speak with him, he will tell you everything. Six ships sailed from Europe last May, but I do not know where they may be, owing to the troubles; nor can I say how many more ships have set sail.' I reflected that everything would be known on the arrival of the ships.

For the last four days, an English sloop has been hovering about from east to west, from north to south and back again. I think that it has been sent to carry news to the English who may have heard that ships are nearing Pondichery.

I also hear that, when Mânâjiya Pillai of Tanjore marched to attack the Kîlanelli fort, the Tondimân's troops blew up the fort by firing a powder-mine, thus destroying many lives.

'I received the Company's receipt for the following sums paid by M. Guillard for Tirukkôyilûr, Vriddhachalam, &c., countries :—

Star pagodas ...	...	...	1,772
Vatta pagodas	...	...	3
Porto Novo pagodas		...	11

5,063 [rupees], 9 fanams and 24 cash.

Wednesday, February 2.[1]—This morning I was invited to attend the fixing of the pandal post for the marriage at Sathiyanâtha Pillai's house, so I went thither, and thence to the office in the flower-garden.

Yesterday afternoon M. Boyelleau sent the following message to me by his dubâsh Muttappan :—'I have received by an English friend at Madras a letter from M. Godeheu in Europe dated May corresponding to *Vaigâsi*, saying that, when the ship on which M. Godeheu embarked at Pondichery, a Bengal ship and a Mascareigne ship—4 ships in all[2]—approached European waters in the year *Yuva* and month *Arppisi*[3], a Swiss captain informed the captains that a squadron of 12 English ships were engaged in attacking the French, so they put out to sea and reached the harbour safely on May 17. Also six ships which set sail had to return knowing they could not resist the English ships which were lying on their route. I am very glad of this because M. Desvoeux on reaching Europe will be able to inform M. Godeheu and the Company what has happened here; besides which they will be fully informed by my letters. The coming ships will bring definite news of M. Godeheu's

[1] *24th Tai, Dhâthu.*

[2] *Sic.* Probably two ships were despatched from Pondichery.

[3] October-November 1755.

displeasure with the Governor for not having carried out the instructions left behind at his departure. I am a councillor and yet he makes a wry face at me. As the matter of perquisites and contingencies has been already decided by the Council, their records will be of no avail to him in the matter.' On hearing this message from M. Boyelleau, I asked the dubâsh to tell M. Boyelleau that orders had been given to enter the perquisites and contingencies in the accounts separate from the amounts paid for the *izara*, but that it had not been done in the old accounts and that these items have been included in the new lease drawn up for this year.

I hear that, as the amaldârs have been delaying the despatch of money on the plea of the disturbances raised by [the Goddess] Mâriyamman, 50 guards with 30 Christian peons and catechists were sent yesterday to Villupuram and other places to seize men and give 50 stripes to those who say that they are possessed, and convert them into Christians.

Thursday, February 10.[1]—As to-day I was costive through indigestion, I stayed at home, fasted till evening and then took a diet. Nayinâr the head-peon came and said, 'South of Kûnimêdu and north of Pudupêttai, a dead

[1] *3rd Mâsi, Dhâthu.*

fish has been driven ashore. It is 160 feet long, 16 feet wide and 25 feet high. Its outer skin is like palmyra bark ; below the ear there are 100 or 120 pendant pieces like this one. The ear is as black and thick as that of an elephant and about one cubit broad, and 1½ cubits long ; the black hairs on it are like steel rods about a cubit long and as stout as lentil pods, and smell horribly when burnt. In the middle of the fish's back is a growth as high as a man and like the elephant's trunk. Thousands of fishes as big as elephants and horses are swarming round to eat it. I asked the *Pattanavars*[1] to go near in a boat, but they refused, saying that the fishes devouring it would dash against the boat and seize it, and perhaps kill them. My entreaties were of no avail. The stench is unbearable. The Governor ordered it to be brought in by means of ship's ropes and catamarans, but I have to say that a mountain may be brought more easily than this object. The fishes allow no one to approach it but kill them.' About three-fourths of the townspeople—Europeans, Muhammadans, Lubbais, Pariahs, Sûdras and others—have gone to see it. All say that they have never seen such a thing before. In

[1] East-Coast fishermen. See Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*, Vol. VI, pp. 177, etc.

M. Dupleix' time, in the year *Prabhava*,[1] a fish 30 feet long and 5 feet high was driven ashore north of the Pondichery fort, and in consequence, the English surrounded the town in *Vibhava*,[2] and then there were troubles which ended in the death of Anwar-ud-dîn Khân and Salabat Jang and many others. As a stranger creature has now been seen, I do not know what strange things are going to happen.

Wednesday, February 16.[3]—I went to the Fort this morning. The Second had a boil on the leg and did not come, but the rest were sorting cloth in the sorting-godown. When I was there with them, I heard the following news :—Packer Lakshmana Maistry procured a loan of 2,000 rupees for the Ariyânkuppam business and subsequently got possession of the village. The inhabitants not liking this, complained to the Governor who summoned the Maistry and directed him to quit the village and return the bond. The Maistry replied that he had left the bond with the people who had lent the money ; so he was ordered to produce it or be imprisoned in the Choultry. He was accordingly taken there. On hearing this, M. Cornet and M. Lenoir remarked in anger that the Governor must

[1] 1747-48. [2] 1748-49. [3] *9th Mâsi, Dhâthu*.

have gone mad to seize and imprison packers like this to the hindrance of the packing, that he must have done this by Kandan's words, that he had ruined the country and put the Company to ruinous loss, and that Kandan's injustice was indescribable. They then both went to the Governor and talked to him about it. The latter in reply only ordered the Maistry to be kept at the packing place at the Fort.

M. Guillard's Râmachandra Râo then came and said, 'The commandant at Vriddhachalam was kept within proper bounds till now as M. Guillard had arranged. But now, though permission had been first given to take the God in procession, the commandant ordered peons to use force, when the God was taken into the streets; whereon the people threw down the God and fled; dancing-girls were ravished, *nâttârs* and cultivators seized, fined, and shut up in the temple; and when they agreed to pay the fine and were released, they too fled, so that their women and children have been seized and shut up in the Fort; and the *nâttârs* who were seized and have been kept under guard, are being sent here, according to orders, but are not being supplied with food by the way and have reached Villiyanallûr. Amaldâr Srînivâsa Râo who was sent to settle

the affair is in custody.' Thus much injustice is being done in the country.

The news to-day is that when Ayyan Sâstri was about to send money from Wandiwash, the Goddess Mâriyamman said that she was going to rule for nine years, and that therefore the money should be given to her instead of to the ruler. Thereupon Ayyan Sâstri kept quiet. But when the peon who had gone was about to take the money that was ready tied up, he bled at the nose and mouth. He therefore wrote to Savarirâya Pillai. Savarirâya Pillai's younger brother proposed to defy the Goddess and send guards for the money; but this idea brought a severe dysentery on him and he suffered very much, until Savarirâya Pillai prayed telling his Padré that, if his brother were cured, he would give 1,000 rupees, and tied up a certain amount for it, and immediately he became better.

This is what I have heard of the strange sight seen in Mailam:—When all were worshipping the God and witnessing the ceremonies, four Reddis who were possessed of the Goddess said that the offerings to her must not be distributed but stored in a room, and that all must give her money when they witnessed the ceremonies till dawn; that, as she had been beaten in Pondichery she would not go there, but send two bronze cars with steel axles and

2,000 Râkshasas, that she had come to rule the country for nine years, and had ordered the crops to be harvested in certain places on condition that half the produce should be given to the cultivators, and the other half left on the threshing floor. She has given 60 pagodas to a bachelor for his marriage, and has appeared to several persons surrounded by the four kinds of troops—elephants, horse, etc., torches and coloured lights ; those who commit mistakes or blaspheme her, vomit blood and die. A Reddi who blasphemed her saw all his cattle lying as if dead where they were tied up, but straightway he prayed, whereon she ordered turmeric and chunam to be mixed and sprinkled on the cattle, and all the cattle revived and stood up. I have heard several other like stories.

Tuesday, February 22.[1]—It was raining this morning, so I did not go to the Fort, but stayed at home.

At mid-day Râmayya Pillai came to my house and said, 'Letters have been received from the Company ordering the bonds to be examined and the sums owed by M. Dupleix to several people here ascertained and written out. So the Company's merchants and others are bringing their bonds and

[1] *15th Mâsi, Dhâthu.*

writing accounts. You have two bonds for 34,500 rupees which Chandâ Sâhib and Râza Sâhib executed in the name of Arumpâtai Muttayya Pillai who accompanied the detachment to Ambûr and Vâniyambâdi. The Second has asked me to tell you to bring the bonds to be sent to Europe.' I said I would send them and, taking the two bonds, I gave them to Mêlugiri Chetti and sent him with Sôlaiyappan to the kâzî to take copies of them and bring them with the kâzî's seal. They went accordingly and brought me back the bonds with the two copies. I gave the copies to Mêlugiri Chetti to be given to Râmayya Pillai. At seven o'clock to-night Mêlugiri Chetti and Sêshô Pandit (Mâdhava Râo's vakîl) came to me, with the two copies and said, 'We learn that the Governor had the two copies read to him by Madanânda Pandit who, on reading them, said they were only copies. Thereon the Governor ordered the originals to be brought. Râmayya Pillai wanted us to bring the originals to him to be shown to the Governor and returned.' I replied, 'Is it the custom to show the original? That is why I sent copies with the kâzî's seal. I think Râmayya Pillai has sent for them at the instance of Vinâyaka Pillai, and I therefore perceive the designs of Râmayya Pillai and Vinâyaka Pillai. But as you both ask me, I

will give them. Show them to the Governor yourselves as Râmayya Pillai has said, after obtaining from him a note declaring that he will send back the originals after the Governor has seen them.' So I gave them to Mêlugiri Chetti and sent him with Sêshô Pandit who had been sent by Râmayya Pillai.

They came back at nine o'clock, and said, 'We gave the two bonds to Râmayya Pillai who gave them to the Second. The latter kept them and said that he would return them to-morrow. Râmayya Pillai has accordingly asked us to tell you that he will send them to-morrow.' I demanded of them why they had given the bonds without obtaining a note from him as I had ordered, and I sent them again to him to get his note promising to return them to-morrow.

Ânanda Râo (Mysore Venkatanârâyanappa Ayyan's man) came to me and said, 'A bundle of coconut fibre fell on the chafer kept for the warmth of Venkatanârâyanappa Ayyan's wife in confinement, and caught fire, and consequently the house also caught fire. There was no man in the house; but Venkatanârâyanappa Ayyan's first wife had presence of mind enough to enter the house and bring out the second wife who was caught in the smoke and suffering very much, unable to come out. She even saved the old woman and the children

who otherwise would have perished. But all the old woman's property, which was kept in a great box in the room with the woman's cloths and other things, was destroyed, to their great loss, and the old woman is thought to be dying of grief. Venkatanârâyanappa Ayyan never speaks the truth but replies to all that he had nothing to lose.'

Thursday, February 24.[1]—I went upstairs at the Fort this morning and visiting the Governor found him with the Second, M. Boyelleau, M. Guillard and other councillors, so I waited. As a ship is about to sail, the Governor and the councillors held a council till ten o'clock when it broke up. I went to my office in the flower-garden.

M. Bruno, M. Barthélemy's wife's sister's son and M. Mauricet (M. Cornet's brother-in-law) who went to Pegu with the vessels for repair,[2] took the side of the Râjâ of Syriam against the Râjâ of Pegu. On learning this, the Râjâ of Pegu imprisoned them both. On receipt of this news, 50 soldiers with an officer under the command of M. Le Beaume's son were despatched in a ship, with powder, shot and guns. But before their arrival, the two

[1] *17th Mâsi, Dhâthu.*

[2] The plentiful supply of teak and the deep rivers made Pegu a favourite resort for the repair and construction of ships among all the European nations on the Coromandel Coast.

prisoners had begged their release of the Râjâ. But after the troops had reached Pegu, and the powder and guns been landed, it was improperly demanded of the Râjâ why they had been imprisoned. In his anger the Râjâ slew the fifty soldiers and MM. Bruno and Mauricet. Only M. Le Beaume's son and the officer were excused because they had arrived by another ship[1]. On receipt of this news, the councillors visited the Second's house to condole with Madame Barthélemy. This is the news I have heard.

When the German commandant formerly asked me to sell him two logs of timber for ready money, I replied that I could not spare them. He then offered me either timber in exchange or their cost, but I explained that I could not answer until I had inspected the timber. I hear to-day that an attempt was made to remove the two logs without my knowledge, and, when my man Sôlaiyappan prevented that being done, there was a hand-to-hand fight. When this was reported by my orders to the Second, he sent the commandant's man to me for enquiries to be made which I did and reported the result. The Second then sent a proper reply to the commandant about the matter.

[1] Cf. Phayre's *Burma*, p. 161.

Muttayyan (M. Boyelleau's dubâsh) came to me and said, 'I hear that twenty days ago M. Barthélemy, the Second, said in the presence of ten or twenty Europeans that, as the Governor had taken responsibility for the amounts due from you, you were lucky as the Company would subsequently have to pay you. M. Leyrit has heard of this. M. Boyelleau has sent me to tell you that not only he but the Second also are well-disposed towards you.' I sent Muttayyan back with thanks for the favour with which God has been pleased to inspire his master towards me.

The German commander then sent to me the Englishman, M. Blanc, who dresses like a Muhammadan. I explained everything to him and made him go to the Second to inform him that the fault lay with the commandant's people.

This evening Mêlugiri Chetti returned to me the two bonds of Chandâ Sâhib and Razâ Sâhib which I gave on the 22nd to be given to Râmayya Pillai; I put them back where they were before.

I heard to-night that the Dutch, who have been trading in the Java country ever since they drove away the Portuguese from their ports there and seized Malacca, had been attacked by the Javanese, and those Dutchmen who had escaped death had retreated into the

fort where they secured themselves, but had been subsequently surrounded by the enemy.[1]

I hear that the English who sent away their ships when they had recovered Calcutta, have been surrounded and slain by the Nawâb of Bengal and the city has been recaptured.

[1] A distant and curious echo of the Javanese war at this time still in progress. Lannoy et Linden, *Expansion Coloniale des peuples Européens-Néerlande*, p. 145.

MARCH 1757.

Friday, March 4.[1]—I remained at home today without going out. A cadjan letter was received this evening from Ayyâ Pillai at Villiyanallûr, saying :—'The god in the Villiyanallûr temple was taken out for the *Makham*[2] procession to the new *mantapam* built by Vinâyaka Pillai instead of to the Tirukkânji river ford as usual. After the idol had been bathed in the river and was being taken to the *mantapam*, with Brâhmans walking behind the idol reciting the Vêdas, Lôganâtha Pandâram followed, smoking and wearing his sandals. The Brâhmans fell on him, broke his sandals and mishandled him. My son and Narasimha Chetti thereon beat the Brâhmans, and drove them away, and gave the Pandâram two peons to protect him.'

Saturday, March 5.[3]—I heard this morning that the guards and peons serving the Company and engaged in bringing in money from the country and taking money out for the pay, were informed by M. Desvoeux that they would receive orders for their pay out of the

[1] *25th Mâsi, Dhâthu.*

[2] An annual festival in the month of *Mâsi* on the day of the full moon or the day after when the Moon is in the constellation Makham. On this day ablutions are performed in sacred water.

[3] *26th Mâsi, Dhâthu.*

money to be collected from the country, for which arrangements were being made. I also hear that a Brâhman from Salem has reported that Dêvarâja Ayyan and Nandi Râjâ of Mysore have killed the Mysore *dorai*.[1] I have not heard whether my affair has been settled in Council, but I hear that the Governor is going to Âlambarai and thence to inspect the country.

Tuesday, March 8.[2]—I went to my office in the flower-garden this morning and returned home at noon.

Kandappa Mudali sent a message to me by head-peon Râyappan that the Governor is going to Âlambarai to-morrow, and that therefore I should make ready the elephant with a silver howdah, the great flag, peacock-feather fan, fly-chowry, standards, lances, silver umbrellas, rose-water sprinkler and horses. Considering the ill-feeling between me and the Governor, I reflected that this demand must have been made not by him in person, but in his name by Kandappan and Vinâyaka Pillai, recollecting the splendour with which I accompanied the Governor last *Panguni* to Gingee, and wishing to go now in like manner, lest people should think ill of them, the Governor be dissatisfied, and they themselves

[1] The French adventurer Monis, who was in the Mysore service.
[2] *29th Mâsi, Dhâthu.*

blamed. I concluded, however, that I should not refuse as they spoke in the Governor's name, but sent them a message, saying that as the great elephant was *mast*, it could not be taken out, that I had no other elephant able to carry the howdah, that on a former occasion it had been carried on shoulder poles but that the silver howdah could not be so carried, that I had no great flag save that in the Fort, that, if required, I would give the small one with the peacock-feather fan, white umbrella, rose-water sprinkler, chowry and standard, that the spear was with the head-peon who would bring it, and that my horses had been taken for the Company and I had only two ponies unfit for travelling.

Friday, March 18.[1]—I went to the Fort this morning. The Governor was still asleep and had not even begun to dress, owing to the fatigue of his journey into the country, although it was nine o'clock and all the Europeans that had come had gone away. I went to the office in the flower-garden where I heard that the Second and the councillors were upstairs, ready to hold a council as soon as the Governor appeared. Some time ago I heard that the Pathan Ahmad Khân Abdâlî Khân had marched hither very fiercely from

[1] *9th Panguni, Dhâthu.*

Turania with 150,000 horse to take Lahore and attack the Pâdshâh at Delhi. The sowcars in the north are now said to have received a letter saying that Ahmad Khân Abdâlî has captured Delhi, seized Alamgîr Pâdshâh, and plundered the city. I shall hear more about this news.

Wednesday, March 23.[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning, the Governor, M. Guillard and some officers were upstairs. I went up and paid my respects to the Governor and stayed with him till nine. He was not so cheerful as yesterday. Then all took leave. M. Guillard, after taking leave of the Governor, took me by the hand and we went out, talking as yesterday, accompanied by Sêshâchala Chetti. The Governor turned and saw us talking, and then went into his room. I came downstairs, and, after saying good-bye to M. Guillard, went to the sorting-godown and talked with Sêshâchala Chetti about the former Governors till ten o'clock. I then went to the office in the flower-garden.

There I heard the contents of M. Bussy's letter received by the Governor to-day as follows :—When M. Bussy and Vijayarâma Râjâ were encamped at Chicacole, a fight arose in which many Frenchmen and many of

[1] *14th Panguni, Dhâthu.*

Vijayarâma Râjâ's people were killed, including Vijayarâma Râjâ. Thereon M. Bussy marched to Vizianagram and captured and plundered the town. This is the news related to me by the Topass who has returned from Delhi whither he went in Muhammadan disguise. Full details of the dead are not yet known. The Râjâ was 49 years old, and it was predicted that he would be in danger this year. Learning this, nine years ago he installed on the throne his elder brother's son, then three years old, himself being the vizier and managing affairs till now, and amassing sums of money. He was the friend of the Government and of the people. He first assumed the crown and the pearl umbrella on *Srâvana Paurnami*, and protected and helped many; his glory spread far and wide; but now he has been slain with his followers.[1]

I heard this evening that eight lakhs of rupees had been paid to M. Desvoeux in ready money on account of the country from June 11 till yesterday, but it is not known how much has been paid to the Company for the establishment, for M. Guillard had nothing to do with this. These eight lakhs included the amount first paid in by M. Boyelleau.

[1] Cf. the fuller and less inaccurate account below under the date March 26.

I also hear that 2,40,000 is the amount due from Wandiwash, including perquisites, but no money has been received from Chidambaram, Bhuvanagiri and Gingee, and the money for the rest of the country has still to be brought in.

Thursday, March 24.[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning, the Governor, M. Guillard and some officers were upstairs. I paid my respects to the Governor and stood near him. He kept staring at me about an hour; I thought that he wanted to tell me something, so I stayed till eight or nine o'clock. I then went to the office in the flower-garden, and the Governor went to Olukarai.

I hear that Nânâ Savai Bhâji Râo who has crossed the Kistna with 60,000 horse and halted at Sâvanûr, Bankâpuram and Gadawal, has sent men with letters to Cuddapah and Arcot; Salabat Jang has reached Adoni with 30,000 horse; both he and the Nânâ are said to be coming to Arcot and the southward. I also hear that as Mîr Sâhib of Elavânasûr has plundered certain villages attached to Ulaganallûr, 50 soldiers and 300 foot, with officers, have been sent and that M. Hébert has been sent as commander to Vriddhachalam.

[1] *15th Panguni, Dhâthu.*

The Siam Râjâ's ship sailed yesterday afternoon with men.

Particulars of the Governors of Pondichery :—

M. Martin, Governor.—The French took possession of Pondichery from the Merchants on the 21st *Tai, Vikrama*, corresponding with February 1, 1701,[1] and M. Martin was Governor from this date up to 5th *Âdi, Pârtiva*, corresponding with July 15, 1706, when he died.[2]

M. Flacourt, Governor.—M. Flacourt, the Second, was Governor from 6th *Âdi, Pârtiva*, corresponding with 16th July 1706,[3] to 29th *Tai, Pârtiva*, corresponding with February 9, 1707, that is, until the arrival of M. Dulivier from Bengal.

M. Chevalier Dulivier, Governor.—M. Chevalier Dulivier landed from Bengal on February 9, 1707, assumed charge from M. Flacourt, the Second, and was Governor up to July 9, 1708, corresponding with 29th *Âni, Sarvajit.*

M. Hébert, Governor.—M. Chevalier Hébert who arrived from Europe on July 9,[4] 1709, assumed charge of the Governorship. M. Chevalier Dulivier set sail for Europe in *Arppisi.*

[1] Martin took possession of the fort on March 16 and of the town on September 17, 1699.

[2] Martin died on December 31, 1706.

[3] Flacourt may have entered on his functions when about this time Martin became too ill to attend to business.

[4] Kaeppelin gives the date as July 2.

M. Chevalier Dulivier, Governor again.—M. Chevalier Dulivier assumed charge again as Governor on August 16,[1] 1713, corresponding with 5th *Âvani, Nandana* from M. Hébert who set sail for Europe.

M. Hébert, Governor again.—M. Chevalier Dulivier was Governor up to August 19, 1715, corresponding with 7th *Âvani, Jaya*, when M. Hébert returned as General.[2] Both of them were Governor and General respectively up to June 14, 1718, corresponding with 4th *Âdi, Vilambi*,[3] and governed the country. Nainiya Pillai, the chief dubâsh, was imprisoned on Thursday, 5th *Mâsi, Manmada*, by M. Dulivier, the Governor, without consulting the councillors, at the instigation of M. Hébert, the General, and his son M. Hébert, the Second, and the St. Paul's priests ;[4] Kanakarâya Mudali, a boy of 18 or 19, was appointed dubâsh and Nainiya Pillai put to great trouble. The latter petitioned Monsieur the Duke of Orleans who was Regent in France during the minority of the King ; and the petition was printed and read by all. The Regent thus having learnt of the matter, gave orders to M. Law, an Englishman who was Comptroller-General, and M. Law

[1] Kaeppelin gives September 24.

[2] Hébert arrived July 18. For his rank, see Kaeppelin, *La Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, p. 625.

[3] The English equivalent month should be July.

[4] Cf. Kaeppelin, *op. cit.* p. 626.

gave orders to the Company, which agreed with the ministers that Nainiya Pillai had been unjustly imprisoned, and ordered M. Hébert, the General, and his son, the Second, to be imprisoned and their property confiscated and sent to Europe, M. Dulivier to be removed, M. Hardancourt, the *Directeur* of Bengal, to be appointed as Governor, and M. la Prévostière who was councillor in M. Hébert's time to be the Second, but, should M. Hardancourt be prevented by an act of God, M. la Prévostière to be appointed as Governor. This news was brought by a Europe ship. But before the receipt of the letter containing this news, the news had come of the death of M. Hardancourt, *Directeur* in Bengal. However the Europe letter directed that, if he were dead, M. la Prévostière should be Governor.

M. La Prévostière, Governor.—According to the above letter, M. la Prévostière became Governor. M. Dulivier was removed, M. Hébert who was General, and his son who was the Second, were imprisoned and their property confiscated. So they were sent to Europe in custody in *Mâsi, Vilambi*, corresponding with February [1719].[1] M. Dulivier carried on trade here for two years and then left for Europe. During the Governorship of M. la

[1] Cf. Kaeppelin, *op. cit.* p. 630.

Prévostière, on the 4th *Âdi*, *Vilambi*, corresponding with July 14, 1718, the Company and the ministers wrote from Europe that no member of Kanakarâya Mudali's family should be appointed Company's *courtier* ;[1] so Kanakarâya Mudali was removed from the *courtier's* position. M. la Prévostière died on the 1st *Purattâsi*, *Plava*, corresponding with September 13, 1721.[2] After his death M. [Blanchelière]. the *Directeur* of Bengal should have been appointed as Governor ; but as he was very cruel and regardless of the people, M. la Prévostière wrote to Europe before his death that M. [Blanchelière] was unfit to be appointed Governor, and that M. Lenoir who was the Second and the cleverest of all was the fittest man ; he also named him as Governor and recorded a decision to that effect in Council.[3]

M. Lenoir, *Governor*.—M. Lenoir a very capable, just and intelligent man, was Governor from 1st *Purattâsi*, *Plava*, corresponding with September 13, 1721,[4] up to *Purattâsi*, *Sôbhakrut*,

[1] I do not recollect any other reference to this. Ranga Pillai depends for his knowledge of these events on family tradition and Nainiyappa's Journal. His account is not very accurate; for instance, he represents Nainiyappa's restitution as ordered in 1718, whereas it was not decreed until 1720 on the report of a commission of enquiry at Pondichery.

[2] He died on October 17.

[3] Cf. *Del. du Cons. Sup.* October 11, 1721. (Vol. I, p. 296.)

[4] The date should be October, 11.

corresponding with September [1723].[1] He was then appointed Governor of Mascareigne when M. Beauvoilier was appointed Governor here. The former sailed for Europe in *Arppisi*.

M. Lenoir, Governor again.—M. Lenoir returned as Governor on 4th *Avani*, *Parâbhava*, corresponding with October 15,[2] 1726, and M. Beauvoilier who was removed took ship for Europe in *Arppisi*. After making over the government of Mascareigne to M. la Bourdonnais, M. Dumas arrived on Sunday the 6th *Purattâsi*, *Râkshasa*, corresponding with September 18, 1735, and took charge of the government from M. Lenoir. M. Lenoir was very able and clever, and established a name as bright as the sun by enquiring justly into all matters. Pondichery which was but a jungle became a town; huts became storied houses; and walls were built round the town. He sent ships with merchandise to Manilla, Mocha, Achin, Malacca, Quedah, Perak and other distant places whither ships had never before been sent, and carried on trade to the extent of five or six lakhs, thus bringing in large profits for the town and for the Company, so that, during his ten years' rule, people

[1] Cf. *Del. du Cons. Sup.* Vol. I, p. 398.

[2] Lenoir's commissions were read on September 12 (*Del. du Cons. Sup.* Vol. II, p. 108). The Tamil date corresponds with August 5.

declared that, of all places, Pondichery was the most just and truthful, that its merchants and inhabitants were the wealthiest, that it could supply all kinds of goods to other parts of the country, and that it could procure the goods from all other places; and the townspeople, the out-villagers, the Company's directors and others in Europe all prayed that he would continue for ever as Governor. Moreover by great efforts he obtained from the Nizâm a parwâna for the coinage of rupees in Pondichery and 3-swâmi pagodas for the Yânâm factory equal in fineness to the Madras *karukku* pagodas, and thus made the town prosperous. He ruled in such a way that the Nizâm and other Muhammadan rulers and the European and Carnatic governments and others, pronounced that God had been pleased to make truth, justice, ability, broadness of mind and all other good qualities dwell in the person of M. Lenoir, and that he was fit to occupy the throne of Delhi itself. This great man sailed for Europe by the *Lys* (captain M. Dordelin) at one o'clock on the night of the 27th *Puratâsi*, *Râkshasa*, corresponding with October 8, 1735, thus causing more grief than the loss of parents or treasure.

M. Dumas, Governor.—Then M. Dumas became Governor. M. Lenoir obtained parwânas from the Nizâm for coining rupees and

pagodas. During the nawâbship of Dôst 'Alî Khân at Arcot, messengers were sent to Imâm Sâhib to obtain permission to coin rupees and pagodas at the Pondichery mint which would give the means of livelihood to many and bring gain to the Company ; and these rupees and pagodas were made current in the country. When Fatteh Singh and Raghôji Bhônsla appeared in these parts and marched to Arcot after slaying Dôst 'Alî Khân, his and Safdar 'Alî Khân's families and the Muhammadan nobles, etc., at Arcot who took to flight were invited to Pondichery and there sheltered from the Maratha troubles. When this news reached the Pâdshâh at Delhi, he sent a parwâna for a mansab of 4,500 horse, with a standard and naubat; and gave M. Dumas Alisapâkkam as a jaghir. He obtained Kârikâl from the Râjâ of Tanjore and built a fort there where he made trade thrive and protected the people. He governed the country for six years up to October 18, 1741, corresponding with 6th *Arppisi*, *Durmati*.[1] In 1737 the Company and the ministers sent him presents from Europe with the cross of St. Michael, stitched on a black ribbon for having obtained permission to coin rupees at Pondichery. At the same time orders came from Europe appointing

[1] The date should be a day later. Cf. Vol. I, p. 182 *supra*.

M. Dupleix, then *Directeur* of Bengal, the Governor of Pondichery. So M. Dumas sent for him and, directing M. Legou the Second to govern the country till the new Governor came, he took ship for Europe.

M. Dupleix, Governor.—On Sunday, 4th *Tai, Durmati*, M. Dupleix arrived from Bengal, assumed charge of the government and governed the country with M. Legou as the Second. The following events belong to M. Dupleix' administration.

He assumed charge on 4th *Tai, Durmati*, corresponding with January 14, 1742, and received the Pâdshâh's parwâna for a mansab of 4,500 horse, the naubat and standards. He was destined to hear the beating of the naubat in Pondichery which no other European in India had been fortunate enough to enjoy, and to have the Pâdshâh's standards borne before him. He made trade to flourish, secured the livelihood of many, and sent great merchandise home to the Company. Nawâb [Saf]dar 'Alî Khân of Arcot, the Râjâ of Tanjore and other great men dreaded him, and courted his friendship. When the Nizâm came here about Trisarapuram,[1] M. Dupleix seized the mace-bearers who came in litters, with their cots, in order to strike terror into the Nizâm's mind,

[1] *i.e.*, to recover Trichinopoly from the Marathas.

and made them walk. So the Nizâm praised his valour in his darbâr, and sent him rich presents. Besides when the Râjâ of Tanjore sent an army to attack Kârikâl, M. Dupleix drove his troops back to the walls of Tanjore, seized many great men and put them in prison. Thereon the Râjâ sent rich presents with words of love and friendship. Moreover when the English seized the ships going to and from Achin, China, Manilla and other places, in his anger he seized Madras on September 21, 1746, corresponding with 9th *Purattâsi*, *Akshaya*, by means of M. de la Bourdonnais, imprisoned at Pondichery Mr. Morse the Governor, Mr. Monson the Second, the councillors, officers and other Englishmen, plundered the town, demolished houses and the fort and planted the French flag which flew there for three years. Moreover he beat off the troops of Mahfuz Khân and Muhammad 'Alî Khân (sons of Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân of Arcot) who came to help the English, drove them back as far as Arcot and plundered their camp. Again when the Nawâb and the English came with their united armies, he advanced to Devanâmpattanam, put their armies to flight, made them bow to him and give rich presents with words of respect. Above all, when the English under Mr. Boscawen the Unlucky Rear-Admiral sent by the King of England,

bombarded Pondichery for 60 days from the 6th *Âvani* (August 16, 1748) to the 5th *Arppisi*, *Vibhava*, with 27 ships and many sloops, and rained each day 20,000 or 30,000 shot between the Fort and the Bound-hedge, and finally with a mighty effort on Tuesday 26th *Puratâsi* (October 8) fired 31,500 shot, 24-pound, 36-pound, 48-pound and even 240-pound and bombs from sunrise to sunset,—even then when the Second, the councillors, the officers and others were convulsed with fear, raising a tumult and eager to leave the country, M. Dupleix with undaunted valour infused courage into the minds of all the townspeople, had the batteries repaired instantly, supplied the people with sufficient store of food and fought with such courage that on the 6th *Arppisi*, he drove the English with their ships and the Unlucky Admiral, back to Cuddalore earning such everlasting glory as was in the mouth of all. In all these affairs, Ânanda Ranga Pillai, his minister, was responsible for his success.

Again when in August 1749 (*Âvani*, *Sukla*), Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân (the Nizâm's nephew) and Nawâb Chandâ Sâhib appeared before Arcot with 30,000 horse, 100 elephants, 1,000 camels, 1,000 transport waggons and 50,000 foot, Chandâ Sâhib's son (Razâ Sâhib)

was appointed Nawâb of Arcot at Pondichery and sent thither with all troops. Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân and Chandâ Sâhib were ordered not to come here, but remain, attack Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân Bahâdûr, Nawâb of Arcot, who, though often wounded, had won 40 or 50 battles, and kill him, plunder his camp and seize his four kinds of troops (elephants, horse, etc.). Afterwards Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân and Chandâ Sâhib were summoned to Pondichery with all honour, and *tôranams* tied in the Arcot subah. He then attacked Tanjore and Trichinopoly. When in *Mâsi*, *Sukla* (March, 1750) Nâsîr Jang (the Nizâm's son) who was on the throne of the Nizâm came with the subahdars of Cuddapah, Kandanûr, and Adoni, Morâri Râo, Râjâ Chandrasên and other Marathas, Shâh Nawâz Khân, Saiyid Lashkar Khân and othernobles, and a lakh of horse, 2,000 elephants, 10,000 camels, 10,000 carts, 2,000 cannon, 30,000 guns, 2 or 3 lakhs of bullocks and great quantities of goods and provisions, and attacked Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân for ten months, M. Dupleix fell upon the ocean of his army in 1750 on 5th *Mârgali*, *Pramôdûta*, and having slain Nâsîr Jang, released Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân and in Pondichery appointed him to the subah of Aurangabad in the place of the Nizâm. Thus he attained glory which shone

like many suns and which will endure so long as the world lasts. Even the Pâdshâh trembled at his name. With all this glory M. Dupleix governed the country from the Kistna to the Cape Comorin. His armies went as far as Golconda and Aurangabad to help Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân. Then he appointed Salabat Jang and helped him. Thus the report of his glory, courage and victories reached the King of France who sent with great joy the black ribbon of Chevalier of the order of St. Michael which is generally worn like an upper cloth. For his other victories, he was made Chevalier and *commandeur* with the broad red ribbon of St. Louis, and given the title of Marquis with presents and emblems of royalty. Thus he amassed wealth and earned glory. He spent great sums and enjoyed much happiness for nearly 13 years but was removed on 20th *Âdi*, *Bhava*, corresponding with July 30, 1754.

Saturday, *March 26.*[1]—Pîr Muhammad Sâhib of Bimlipatam reports the news of Vijayarâma Râjâ's death as follows :—

M. Bussy's ship with grain arrived last night from the Varadâdapûndi pool[2] in Vijayarâma Râjâ's taluk and anchored. The boat-people said to Pîr Muhammad Sâhib, 'When M. Bussy

[1] *17th Panguni, Dhâthu.* [2] Unidentified.

went northwards, and quarrelled with Salabat Jang, Shaikh Ibrâhîm *alias* Ibrâhîm 'Alî Khân who accompanied M. Bussy, secretly helped Salabat Jang. M. Bussy disapproved this conduct of Shaikh Ibrâhîm, who besides sought shelter with a Telugu Vellâla zamindar called Ranga Râo, owning the zamin of Bobbili with a killa, about 50 miles north-west of Chicacole yielding 3 lakhs, and gave him a naubat, etc., and also made friendswith Vijayarâma Râjâ. M. Bussy therefore marched against this man with 2,000 soldiers, 10,000 sepoys, guns and other munitions of war; and with Saiyid-ullah Khân, Haidar Jang (son of J'afar 'Alî Khân) some sardârs, 2,000 horse and 40,000 foot who had joined him from Ellore and Rajahmundry. They camped at Kasimkota. Vijayarâma Râjâ of Vizianagar about 50 miles north of Kasimkota hearing of the advance of M. Bussy, wished to see him. But before setting out he sent word secretly to Ibrâhîm 'Alî Khân at Bobbili that, as M. Bussy, the protector of all, was coming, it would therefore be improper to help him and that he should therefore depart. Having thus sent word he set out with his followers and went to Kasimkota where he had an interview with M. Bussy. Zamindar Ranga Râo who was in the fort of Bobbili also sent word to Shaikh Ibrâhîm that, as M. Bussy their protector was coming, he

must leave the country, otherwise he would be in danger. Thereon Shaikh Ibrâhîm left Bobbili and hid himself in a distant place. Now Vijayarâma Râjâ had a grudge against Ranga Râo of Bobbili, as for a long time the latter had not shown him due respect; so Vijayarâma Râjâ resolved to join M. Bussy, and with him to seize the Bobbili fort and country and kill Ranga Râo. With this object, he encouraged M. Bussy to take the fort and country. M. Bussy agreed. Vijayarâma Râjâ therefore marched with an army of 2,000 horse, 40,000 foot, 8,000 artillery, with his sardârs, 40 elephants, guns and munitions of war. The combined armies marched by way of Chicacole to attack Bobbili about 100 miles away and encamped near the fort. Negotiations were begun with Ranga Râo; but as he would not come to an agreement, M. Bussy marched with a small army to attack the fort; about 5,000 of Ranga Râo's picked men came out and fought so boldly with M. Bussy's men that the latter could not stand, but retreated. Vijayarâma Râjâ, ill-brooking this retreat, mounted on his elephant, and having advanced with his army, beat off Ranga Râo's people, approached the fort, crossed the ditch by filling it with bundles of straw, and scaled the walls, while M. Bussy's men scaled the walls from the other side, after a severe fight in which 18

officers, 200 soldiers, 2,000 foot and 1,000 artillery people on M. Bussy's side, and sepoys, guards, Carnatic infantry sardârs—5,000 in all—on the side of the Râjâ—8,000 or 9,000 on both sides—perished, and the ditch ran red with blood. When the fort had been captured, M. Bussy warned Vijayarâma Râjâ that he would be making an enemy if he left a single child alive in the fort. The Râjâ gave orders accordingly as is the European custom, and directed all in the fort, the troops and even women with child should be slain; and thus men, women and even pregnant women and children in the fort—10,000 in number—were killed, including Ranga Râo himself, but his younger brother who was severely wounded survived. Vijayarâma Râjâ recommended M. Bussy to allow his wounds to be dressed. He was therefore removed to a tent for treatment and, in token of victory, the French flag was hoisted on the fort, the naubat was beaten, sugar was distributed to the army, and festivities were held. But after Vijayarâma Râjâ and M. Bussy had retired to their respective tents, one of Ranga Râo's people who had escaped, went to Vijayarâma Râjâ's tent in order to put him to death, and telling the chowkidars that Ranga Râo's younger brother had refused to have his wounds dressed, desired them to tell Vijayarâma Râjâ the

news. The chowkidars did so. Vijayarâma Râjâ then ordered the man who had brought the news to be brought. The guards admitted him, after searching him for weapons; but they did not find a folding knife which he took with him into the Râjâ's presence. He then announced that he bore a secret message, and, being allowed to approach, he ripped up the Râjâ's belly with his knife, so tearing the intestines that he died. Immediately the treacherous man was killed. M. Bussy in great grief wrote this sad news to Ânanda Râjâ, *alias* Jagapati Râjâ, the son of Vijayarâma Râjâ's elder brother at Vizianagar desiring him to come, and on the news Vijayarâma Râjâ's second wife threw herself down a well and perished, while the first wife had to be guarded by those near her. When Jagapati Râjâ visited M. Bussy, the latter consoled him with kind words, saying, 'As this was the will of God, do not fear. The Bobbili fort taken by your father shall be yours together with country yielding two lakhs.' So saying he installed him on the throne, and his people are said to be there.

This Vijayarâma Râjâ was born in the year *Sarvadhâri*, and in this year, *Dhâthu*, he completed his 49th year. His father's name was Ânanda Râjâ and they belong to the solar line of kings. Vijayarâma Râjâ was made

king in his seventh year and ruled for 42 years. His family name is Pûsappâttivâr and for generations they have gone by the title of 'Srî Pûsappâtti Mastamandala Râyâ Mannê Sultan.' They are mansabdars of 7,000 horse and possess the Fish standard and pearl umbrellas. They have a country with 40 killas and many temples. Three years ago, he appointed his elder brother's son *Yuvarâjâ* and called him Jagapati Râjâ ; which boy is now said to be 12 years old. Till now, he ruled with great glory and righteousness, living happily, subduing all his enemies and occupying high rank. The fortune of the young boy who has become the ruler remains to be seen.

Tuesday, March 29.[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning, the Governor was in his room upstairs. I waited at the sorting-godown and talked with Alagiyamanavâla Chetti. The Governor then came out and I was about to speak to him about a certain affair when some one sneezed. As the business on which I wanted to see him was not very important, I did not care to go on in the face of that bad omen. I therefore sat and talked with Alagiyamanavâla Chetti and Guruvappa Chetti.

Afterwards I heard that Mansûr Mîr Sâhib had successfully resisted the soldiers and

[1] *20th Panguni, Dhâthu.*

guards sent from here, on which news the Governor had sent M. Pichard and his 60 soldiers, with grenades, guns and other weapons, powder and 50 gunners to fire the guns and grenades. He also wrote a letter to M. Aumont at Tirukkôyilûr to join M. Pichard in the attack and overcome the rebel's resistance. I stayed in the sorting-godown till ten o'clock, and then went to the office in the flower-garden.

This is the town news of to-day :—

As usual, the Kammâlas erected the *Kinnithêr*[1] for their Goddess last night and carried her to the temple after taking her in procession along the street of the left-hand caste people. Kandappa Mudali ordered them, the dancing-girls and pipers, to be seized and brought as the car was more than the usual height and the dancing-girls danced in the streets. He beat them himself and imprisoned the dancing-girls and pipers saying that he had the Governor's orders so to do. Such a scandalous and unjust thing has not been heard of till now, and now that it has happened, all fear what else will come to pass.

Wednesday, March 30.[2]—When I went to the Fort this morning, the Governor was upstairs in the southern room. I paid my

[1] *Vide* note, Vol. VIII, p. 334.
[2] *21st Panguni, Dhâthu.*

respects and stayed with him. On the report that a boat could be seen, the Governor went at once to the eastern end, and saw a small boat going from the north to the south.

Nayinâr the head-peon then came and showed the Governor a chicken hatched this morning with four legs. When all had seen it, the Governor ordered it to be kept in spirit, but I said that, as it was alive, it was not proper to put it into spirit but that it should be reared. The Governor agreeing, gave it to Kandappa Mudali and told him to rear it.

Then I said, 'At the time of Nâsîr Jang's death a pig was born with an elephant's trunk, a woman gave birth to four children, and a cow brought forth a calf with six legs. Whenever such things happen, some strange event is to be expected.' M. Guillard replied that he could speak to that from his experience. It was then remarked in the course of a light conversation, that, in M. Dupleix' time, a cow was brought from Mascareigne with only four legs, but with two heads, and that it was sent to the Company.

M. du Bausset and Pâpayya Pillai's gumastah came and the former informed the Governor that the cattle, goods, etc., with Pâpayya Pillai were Muttu Mallâ Reddi's and that this had been known to M. Dupleix.

Afterwards Pâpayya Pillai's gumastah presented to the Governor a petition which he read. I do not know its contents.

Kandappa Mudali then came and said, 'M. Delarche told the Governor yesterday that Taqî Sâhib never received anybody, that he had not received even Nâsîr Jang when he was formerly here, or the Nawâbs of Arcot, and that therefore Taqî Sâhib's refusal to receive him was no reasonable cause for anger, and that no one heretofore had ordered his country to be seized in return. I can also bear witness to that, and in favour of Pâpayya Pillai's conduct in this matter. Will you say the same if you are questioned?' I replied that everything would happen according to destiny and that I would see about it.

Kandappa Mudali then said that Guruvappa Chetti had given in a statement for only 7½ corge whereas 22 corge had been supplied. I replied, 'I have asked him about it and he says that you were present when the cloth was packed, that entries must have been made in the custom-house accounts and in those of Vîrarâghava Chetti of Tranquebar, and that an examination of the accounts will explain everything.' He again desired me to enquire into it; but I replied that there was no necessity as he could do it himself, when any mistake that had occurred could be rectified

and the matter cleared up to his satisfaction. He then went away, saying that he would enquire into it. The Governor went in, and I waited at the sorting-godown.

The Kammâlas whose dancing-girls, pipers and others are in prison came and said that they had built the car as usual, that the dancing-girls had done nothing except look around in the course of dancing, and that they had been unjustly treated. I, replying that their affair would prosper, went to the office in the flower-garden at ten o'clock.

Thursday, March 31.[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning, the Governor was talking with M. Guillard and five or six officers upstairs. I paid my respects. M. du Baussset delivered a letter to the Governor and talked to him. Kandappa Mudali, Kônêri Nâyakkan and Guruvappa Chetti were there. M. Calard, who is in charge of the carpenter's shop, went up and said to Kandappa Mudali, 'Are you the dubâsh of the place to accuse carpenters and blacksmiths falsely with not having salaamed to you, and to drag them out and beat and imprison them? You have not heard the last of this. I will take the matter up, so look to yourself.' Having thus addressed him harshly, he then went up to the Governor and

[1] *22nd Panguni, Dhâthu.*

spoke to him; the latter did not seem to pay much heed to his complaint; but he came back to Kandappa Mudali and declared that he would have him properly punished. He then went downstairs, and sent for the carpenters, blacksmiths, etc.

I afterwards heard the following news:— When, in *Srîmukha*, Pâpayya Pillai gave Mîr 'Abd-ul-rahmân the Elavânasûr country and sent him there, the latter strengthened the fort, enjoyed the country, raised horse, did not remit money to the Company, considered himself as the governor, plundered the surrounding villages and the pâlaiyams of Ariyalûr and Udaiyârpâlaiyam, and other like ones, and way-laid and molested travellers. The Marquis Dupleix had kept this man's wife in custody here and M. Godeheu had done the same; but M. Leyrit took sureties for her and sent her away. But the sureties departed to Elavânasûr, plundering the country with Mîr 'Abd-ul-rahmân and doing other acts of injustice without heeding any one. Twenty days ago the Governor sent some men and soldiers to seize and bring him here, but he was able to resist and drive them away. So two days ago, a German commandant was sent with a few men and soldiers. M. Aumont who was at Tirukkôyilûr and who had already collected his men for the purpose,

joined the other detachment and they marched against Elavânasûr. Hearing this, Mîr 'Abd-ul-rahmân fled from the country, being unable to defend himself against M. Aumont's powerful army; and M. Aumont has captured Elavânasûr fort.

APRIL 1757.

Saturday, April 9.[1]—The news of to-day is as follows :—

Sau Bhâji Râo Bâlâji Râo encamped four or five leagues from Seringapatam, the capital of the Mysore country, having captured two or three hill forts and plundered the country. The Râjâ of Mysore had written to the Nânâ, asking him to come and offering, if he seized and imprisoned Dêvarâja Udaiyâr, the dalavâi, and Nandi Râjâ, the *Sarvâdhikâri*, or slew them, and restored him to the possession of the country or got the Trichinopoly country for him, to give him half the country and daily pay amounting to 15,000 rupees for the services of his army. The Nânâ has therefore entered Mysore. It is not known what will happen. The harkara was fifteen days on the way.

I also hear that Swarûpa Singh, who was at Gingee, has arrived with 5,000 horse.

I hear that the Nânâ who went to Mysore has seized the fort of Sîra, that Dilâwar Khân, the subahdar, has been given a jaghir yielding a revenue of 60,000 rupees and that he has departed after stationing his guards at the several outposts.

[1] *1st Chittirai, Îswara.* Brown's Ephemeris gives the 31st *Pangun* as the equivalent date. The discrepancy continues to May 9.

Sunday, April 10.[1]—In spite of the important festival to-day, the council met and sat till half-past ten. I cannot say if it met to consider the despatch of troops again to Eravâsanallûr.

Formerly when Hasâyat Khân, the Nawâb of Murshidabad, seized the English town of Calcutta in Bengal, besides several other factories, and drove the English out of these places, Mr. Clive sailed with five or six ships full of soldiers, powder, shot and other munitions of war to *Firânjranga* or Chandernagore. He re-captured Calcutta; and the Nawâb thereupon concluded peace with Mr. Clive, gave him 16 villages, and they exchanged head-dresses. Now that he has made an alliance with the Nawâb, Mr. Clive is said to be marching with the Nawâb's and his own troops to capture the French factory of Chandernagore. Perhaps the council was summoned about this. It will be known hereafter.

In the first day's fight, a shot struck Mîr 'Abd-ul-rahmân of Eravâsanallûr fort. I reported this to M. Guillard, adding that, as Mîr 'Abd-ul-rahmân had been killed, the fort would now fall, although our people were sure of capturing it even when he was uninjured, and that, as he was a source of trouble to

[1] *2nd Chittirai, Kîlaka* [*sic.*].

many, people say that his death will make an end to their misery.

Monday, April 11.[1]—When M. Le Beaume, Râmachandra Ayyan and others were talking this morning, [the Governor] asked why no ships had arrived from Bengal. M. Le Beaume replied, 'The English are great rascals. When they lost Calcutta in Bengal, they made entreaties to us and paid us compliments, and Mr. Clive, who went thither, proposed that, although there was war in Europe, the French and the English should be friends here.[2] But now that he has made peace with the Nawâb, the English say that, as the King of England has declared war, they cannot disobey the orders of the King or refrain from carrying on war here; and their present conduct corresponds with their words, so how can we expect any ships?' Such was their conversation.

This evening M. Saubinet and some officers with about 300 German and French soldiers, marched to Eravâsanallûr with powder, shot and munitions of war.

Tuesday, April 12.[3]—At eight o'clock this morning, I went to the Fort. As it was a European feast, M. Leyrit, the Governor, went

[1] *3rd Chittirai, Îswara.*

[2] The original proposal for neutrality came from Chandernagore. See the editor's *Dupleix and Clive*, p. 127, and the authorities there cited.

[3] *4th Chittirai, Îswara.*

to church to hear mass with M. Barthélemy and the other councillors, and those officers who had not gone to Eravâsanallûr against Mîr 'Abd-ul-rahmân. On his return he went upstairs. I went and paid my respects. Kandappan, M. Leyrit the Governor's servant, called the Christian head-peon Muttu and said to him in my hearing, 'Go to Guntûr Bâli Chetti and ask him who permitted him to ride in a palankin and how he dare come in a palankin from Sadras. Tell him now that, if he is seen in a palankin in the town or even outside the Bound-hedge, orders will be given to break his palankin in pieces and his head and knees as well. Also tell him that the Governor has forbidden him to enter the Fort even on foot. Send word to the head-peon at Villiyanallûr that, if Bâli Chetti and his people should arrive with a palankin, it is to be broken and his people beaten or imprisoned.'

He then turned to me and said, 'When the Srîrangam lease was settled, this man showed great pride, not foreseeing how his head should be bowed in spite of his stiff neck. He talked of great sums of money and went about in a palankin, and gave nothing to the Governor. So this has befallen him. He is a very small man, vain, boastful and mischievous, who will get into yet worse troubles. When I had reported about him in detail to the Governor,

he questioned me much about you in his joy; and I said to him with an oath, when he asked if you still spent as much as before and still wrote to the amaldârs, that what you had spent before was merely proportionate to the extent of the country you were managing and that you paid the peons, etc., in the present Governor's time only what had been given in the days of the rule of M.Lenoir, M. Dumas and M. Dupleix. You may be sure of my speaking to the Governor about you only in terms of praise. If I acted otherwise, I should be ruined;' though many tried to incite him against you, he did not believe them because he is afraid of you.' I listened to all this, and replied that living dishonestly always led to ruin though it might give temporary happiness, and that truth and falsehood would be known and everything revealed in the course of time. Then I remained silent. He went aside because the Governor looked at him. After waiting about a quarter of an hour, I took leave and went to my office in the flowergarden.

Recent events in the town have disturbed its peace; and the prophecy of Sîtârâma Jôsier for the year *Îswara* is being fulfilled. Such evils and injustice were seen when Arcot, Madras, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, Golconda and

Delhi were in their days of decline. I conclude therefore that some danger is impending, and I am glad that God has been pleased to keep my hands out of it. As is my constant practice, I thought over my past experiences and drew my own conclusions.

I hear that M. d'Auteuil has written to the Governor that Mîr 'Abd-ul-rahmân has died of his wounds and that, as his horsemen are deserting, there is an opportunity to capture the fort.

Wednesday, April 13.[1]—I went to the Fort this morning and paid my respects upstairs to M. Leyrit, the Governor. After waiting there about a quarter of an hour, I went and stayed at the sorting-godown, where I heard that M. Saubinet who had set out with 300 soldiers to march against Mîr 'Abd-ul-rahmân of Eravâsanallûr on the evening of the 11th, had not gone thither but turned aside against the fort of Wandiwash.

Thursday, April 14.[2]—At seven o'clock this morning, I went to the Fort; but hearing that the Governor was in the council-room with closed doors conferring with M. Sornay and the officers with strict orders that no one should be admitted, I went to the office in the flower-garden. It is said that an engineer took

[1] *5th Chittirai, Îswara.* [2] *6th Chittirai, Îswara.*

plans of forts with him, and so it is supposed that the consultation concerned the siege of some fort. I think it may be the siege of the fort of Madras or Trichinopoly, but everything will be known hereafter.

Saturday, April 16.[1]—I heard the following news this morning :—

Mîr 'Abd-ul-rahmân having been killed in Eravâsanallûr fort, his younger brother and others with their horsemen departed with their families and goods. Afterwards about ten men, from the fort of Tyâgar in the vicinity, hoisted the English flag on the fort[2] and remained there, saying that they were for the English. Our man, who was enquiring after news, with the intention of attacking Eravâsanallûr fort again after he had visited Tirukkôyilûr and Tiruvennanallûr, on hearing that Mîr 'Abd-ul-rahmân was dead and the fort had been abandoned, wrote thither in advance and at last entered the fort after halting near it a short while. Finding the ten men who had hoisted the English flag say they were for the English, he told them that he had come to attack him[3] and capture the fort, and demanded why they had hoisted the flag and claimed the fort, when he had died in battle and his people had fled. They replied they were masters of the country

[1] *8th Chittirai, Îswara.* [2] *i.e.*, Eravâsanallûr.
[3] *i.e.*, Mîr 'Abd-ul-rahmân.

and the fort, and that the wicked man who had been there had run away. He told them to remove their flag and depart. They refused and declared that they would depart only if expelled by force. He then drove them out, hauled down their flag, hoisted the white one, and reported these events. It is said that though the people have gone, their flag is still flying. I think that the council may have met to consider this matter or the march of the troops under M. Saubinet who have reached Udaiyârpâlaiyam, Turaiyûr and Srîrangam. Everything will be known in course of time, but I guess that the council must have been held for the former business.

Tuesday, April 19.[1]—This morning Guruvappa Chetti came and invited me to accompany the Company's merchants who were ready with *pân supârî*, etc., to invite the Governor to the marriage in the house of Tiruvêmbala Chetti, younger brother of Chinnayya Chetti. I said that I would accede to their request, but added, 'Kandappa Mudali now rules the world and many strange things happen. When the Governor was formerly to be invited with *pân supârî* to the marriage in the Nayinâr's house, Kandappa Mudali made the Governor say that he did not want *pân*

[1] *11th Chittirai, [Îswara].*

supârî, and Kandappa Mudali then asked the Nayinâr what he would give the Governor to accept the invitation with *pân supârî*, and, until he had decided to pay 500 rupees, he[1] would not desire the Governor to accept the invitation with *pân supârî*. This is what Kandappa Mudali has already done. Ten days ago, on learning that a marriage was to be celebrated in Tiruvêmbala Chetti's house, he asked what was to be given the Governor for the marriage, and said that he would send a suitable man to the marriage pandal to threaten to imprison the dancing-girls for not standing up in his presence. You tell me that, on hearing all this, Tiruvêmbala Chetti said it was usual for the Company's merchants to visit the Governer with *pân supârî* only and not with money, that [the dubâsh] had been doing many unjust things in the town, but that he would not be duped if the other tried this misbehaviour on him, for if I would be pleased to be present at the time of offering *pân supârî* together with M. Delarche and the Second who should be invited, he would like to see what injustice the other could do. But now you say that the Second and M. Delarche have told you to invite the Governor in my presence as usual, that, if he accepted the

[1] *i.e.*, Kandappan.

invitation, all was well, but, if not, no harm would be done, and though they have refused to come, you desire me to attend when you offer the *pân supârî*. But supposing you do so, will it not be humiliating for me if he refuses to take it when it is offered to him? Moreover I cannot interfere because he is stiff with me, and does not even talk to me in the proper manner; and Tiruvêmbala Chetti refuses to satisfy him with a present. Kandappan has spoiled the Governor and is responsible for the present state of things. So what can I do?' Guruvappa Chetti, agreeing with me, could not answer this, and remained silent. However, as the Company's merchants are under me, I thought it would be but proper that I should be present and see what happened. So I told Guruvappa Chetti that I would go to the Fort and that he might tell Tiruvêmbala Chetti to have *pân supârî* brought. I then went to the Fort, and, when I was going upstairs, I saw Tiruvêmbala Chetti bringing the *pân supârî* with the Company's merchants. When the Governor went alone into the room on the southern side, the Company's merchants brought the *pân supârî*, thinking it to be a suitable opportunity. Thereon the Governor turned to me and asked what they wanted. I told him that they were inviting him to the marriage in Tiruvêmbala

Chetti's house, and gave him a bouquet. 'Is that so?' he said, accepting my bouquet. He then took up a mango and asked me [if it were good]. I said, 'This fruit is too early to be sweet. No fruit is sweet that does not ripen after the west wind has begun to blow.' He agreed, and put the fruit back on the plate. I then said that the plates might be taken in. When they were being taken in, the Governor did not object, but remained silent. Kandappa Mudali then entered and I talked with him about what had formerly happened in the town and what was now taking place and what Sîtârâma Jôsier had predicted. The Governor watched our conversation.

At that moment Bâpu Râo of the tobacco-godown came and said that the Second wanted me. I went to him accordingly, and he asked me why I had not attended the marriage in Vinâyaka Pillai's house. I replied that I had never attended them and that he too need not attend marriages in my house. 'Why so?' he asked. I replied, 'There have been courtiers ever since the hoisting of the French flag in Pondichery, and there will be many after me. My successors will say that my predecessors so managed affairs that the towns-people showed them all honour and respect, but that in the time of such and such a one, that had not been done. Now so furious a hurricane is

blowing that it is dangerous to go out. So I bide my time and do not stir out of my house, attributing everything to my unlucky stars. Every day I go to the Governor, salaam, and return, sending you word of anything important. I come to you whenever you send for me. That is all I do and I do not visit anybody's house.'—'Don't you go to M. Boyelleau's house?' he asked. I replied that I did not, as he might learn by enquiry. 'Why did you not give *pân supârî* when Vinâyaka Pillai's younger brothers invited you for the marriage?' he asked. I replied, 'It is not usual to give *pân supârî* to those who invite one to a marriage. Please ask Bâpu Râo.' Bâpu Râo said I was right and added, 'You are Governor of the Tamils in the town. If knowingly or unknowingly we commit any mistakes, you should be pleased to excuse us when we fall at your feet.' The Second said that, as I was the Governor of the Tamils, I should excuse those who knowingly or unknowingly committed any mistakes if they fell before me and begged my pardon. He added that Vinâyakan was coming. I told him that I could not talk to him in his presence and desired him to say nothing more about it. He then asked if I visited nobody. I replied that he might ask Bâpu Râo and added, 'I visit those who invite me, whether

they are coolies or merchants or other gentlemen, if they show me proper respect. But I do not go, although invited a thousand times, when I know no respect will be shown to me.' The Second said that I was right.

Then I learnt that Vinâyakan was coming. I thought it best not to remain, and came away telling the Second that I would speak to him about affairs later. When I took leave of him, he said that I should forgive those who prostrated themselves before me and invited me. Without agreeing or dissenting, I went to the office in the flower-garden.

Tiruvêmbala Chetti found me there and asked me to go with him to invite the Second with *pân supârî*. 'It is not necessary,' I said, 'I have spoken to the Second about it, so you may go and invite him.' When he did so, the Second asked if the Governor had accepted the *pân supârî*. He replied, yes. The Second then asked if it was usual to invite the Pillai[1] with *pân supârî*. The Company's merchants said, 'He is Governor of the Tamils. We invite him just as we invite you ; and he will come to the marriage. When he comes, we shall show him all proper respect.' They then came to me and reported what had taken place. I then came home.

[1] *i.e.*, the Diarist.

M. Boyelleau who had heard all that had taken place this evening with the Second, sent his dubâsh who came to me and said, 'This Vinâyakan tried through Râmachandra Râo and others to discuss matters with M. Boyelleau before inviting him, but the latter refused to receive him. So one day at five o'clock, when M. Boyelleau was walking about in his shirt-sleeves, Vinâyakan entered his house when the door was opened, gave him *pân supârî* and said, "My lord, I am your slave. Pray do not be angry with me. Be pleased to excuse me." M. Boyelleau replied, "Who are you and what are you? You must keep within proper limits. You who have stolen the Company's property must keep quiet and live submissively. I know how you behave although you have stolen the Company's property. If ever I get power, I will send you to the gallows. Take your *pân supârî* away." When he was leaving, he asked if he might give the *pân supârî* to Madame but he was dismissed with the answer that she could get all the betel she required from the tobacco-godown.'

He then told me that he had been sent to ask me what had taken place at the Second's house. I sent him away after telling him all about the giving of *pân supârî* to the Governor and Vinâyakan's conversation with the Second about his affair.

The Nânâ's vakîl who has arrived says, 'The Râjâ of Mysore, who has adopted Nandi Râjâ Ayyan's son, has marched with him to Satyamangalam with 2,000 horse and will thence proceed to Bâlaghatcheri. Nandi Râjâ has removed the Pandit minister imprisoned in a fortress, to the fort of Seringapatam and declares that, if the Nânâ approaches, he will kill the *dorai*, and even the Pandit minister and others, and then kill himself. About 40,000 of the Nânâ's horse have taken possession of the country as far as Kolâla and it is said that the Nânâ will encamp at Arcot this year after conquering Mysore.'

I am also told that the Governor, hearing that the cousins of the poligar of Turaiyûr are collecting forces with the help of Manôji Appâ of Tanjore to attack Turaiyûr, has sent written *tâkîds* to the commandant of Srîrangam not to allow the English or the Tanjore people to interfere with Turaiyûr.

I also hear that, when the Governor desired the Turaiyûr vakîl Kônêri Râo to go with 20 guards to collect the peshkash from Udaiyârpâlaiyam and Turaiyûr, he answered that he would set out after *Bharani* and *Kruttigai*.[1]

There is news that, when, on the death of Mîr Sâhib of Eravâsanallûr, his younger

[1] Inauspicious constellations.

brother left for Vellore, and the English hoisted their flag, M. d'Auteuil, M. Aumont and others, on learning this, marched thither, removed the English flag and hoisted the French flag; and that M. Desvoeux has told Savarirâyan to take possession of the country.

I hear that Muhammad 'Alî Khân, learning that Najîb-ul-lah Khân, (son of Anwar-ud-dîn Khân by a concubine and amaldâr of Sarvâpalle in Nellore to the northwards) had become disobedient and had written to the French thereabouts for help, has sent 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân with 300 English foot, cannon, guards, powder and shot against Najîb-ul-lah Khân.

I hear moreover that M. Bussy who was wounded in the battle of Bobbili has not yet recovered.

The Governor has received a letter from Bengal saying that there have been further disputes between Mr. Clive and the Nawâb of Bengal and that there has also been a battle. People from Madras say that all the English have been beaten to death. There are also rumours that Mr. Clive has gone to Delhi to complain to the Pâdshâh or has perished.

Friday, April 22.[1]—For the last month, seven or eight European officers have been going about the European streets by night

[1] *14th Chittirai, Îswara.*

in disguise, blowing the trumpet about the iniquities of the Governor, the Second, M. Desvoeux, Kandappa Mudali and Savarirâyan.

Saturday, April 23.[1]—I went to the Fort this morning. As it was the Governor's name-day, at five o'clock a salute of 21 guns and then three volleys were fired. It was raining. The flag was hoisted. After dressing, the Governor went into his room. As I was going upstairs, he came out and I paid my respects to him with a bouquet. He then went to church followed by the councillors and officers. On his way he was told that the flag had torn in the middle and had fallen ; but without heeding this or ordering a new one to be hoisted, he went on to church. The man who hoists the flag rolled up the half which had torn and fallen down, placing it on the ground, and then pulled down the other half, which he placed upon the other. Then Kandappa Mudali arrived and asked his elder brother's son why the flag had not been hoisted. The latter replied that it had torn and fallen down, and that the two halves were lying one on the top of the other, but that, when the Governor was informed of this, he had taken no notice and had not ordered a new flag to be hoisted. 'Is it so ?' Kandappa

[1] *15th Chittirai, Îswara.*

Mudali said and looked at the flag, as I also did. After mass, three salutes of 21 guns each were fired and then three volleys. After hearing mass, the Governor came upstairs and talked with the councillors, looking at me every now and then.

The Turaiyûr vakîl then came and visited the Governor with a nazar of 21 pagodas. The Nayinâr did the same and then Vinâyaka Pillai. It is the custom that the mint-people should present a jewel which afterwards they take back, in exchange for 2,000 rupees ; but to-day they did nothing. When I asked Bâpu Râo of the mint why the mint-people had not given any presents, he replied that Râmachandra Râo had said that no presents had been given for the last two years and that therefore no presents were necessary now. I observed that I should be blamed if no presents were given. Bâpu Râo agreed and therefore offered a chain weighing 20 pagodas. Bâpu Râo of the tobacco-godown then presented 21 pagodas. Dukki, the commandant of the sepoys, then made a present, but I do not know what he gave. Chandâ Sâhib's son presented a dress of honour, under a salute of 21 guns. Zuhûr Khân's son then came and presented a dress of honour and 11 pagodas. Last year, when I was in possession of the country, I sent Appâvu with 500 pagodas, but this year

not possessing the country, I did not give anything. I do not know what M. Desvoeux and Savarirâyan will give. The Company's merchants last year offered 500 pagodas ; now all yesterday and ever since four o'clock this morning, one person after another has been going to the Company's merchants about their visit to the Governor. But the merchants are young, not elderly people, and cannot distinguish right from wrong. I waited upstairs till eleven o'clock in spite of the wind and rain to see if the merchants were coming, but they did not appear.

Monday, April 25.[1]—At five o'clock this evening, Vinâyakan set out for the Governor's house in the Fort, with music, dancing-girls, standards, flags, lances, umbrellas such as are used on marriage occasions, the naubat and other marks of honour, to invite him to the feast. He returned with the Governor who was entertained in the decorated pandal opposite his house. The Second, M. Guillard, M. Miran, M. Desvoeux and M. Lenoir accompanied the Governor. M. Boyelleau, M. du Bausset and M. Delarche did not go ; and M. Guillard departed after remaining a little time. I hear that Vinâyakan gave the Governor 2,000 pagodas as a present, besides

[1] *17th Chittirai, Îswara.*

spending 1,300 rupees on the feast, and an additional sum for wine. In the pandal the Governor was also given a rich dress of honour and the palankin-bearers rolls of silk. The Second was given a dress of honour together with promises. Cloths were prepared for butler Kandappa Mudali, his elder brother's son and others who accompanied the Governor; and when Kandappa Mudali was shown the cloths which had been placed ready on a tray, he expressed his pleasure at them. But when orders were given to bring them forward, somebody sneezed; Vinâyakan therefore said to Kandappa Mudali that it would not be proper to offer a cloth to the Governor, by reason of the sneeze, and that therefore he would give him 1,000 rupees on a tray together with the dress of honour. Kandappa Mudali was dissatisfied with this, and, telling his elder brother's son to remain outside, he went to Sûrappa Mudali's house. At eleven o'clock when the feast was over and the presents given, the Governor returned to the Fort with all marks of honour.

A horse which was harnessed to a single-horse carriage, when it was standing still, suddenly fell, and began to kick. Even after it had been un-harnessed, it remained on the ground for about half an hour before it would get up. I hear that, as the Governor

was leaving, some pith flowers caught fire and set light to the umbrella, but the fire was extinguished immediately. As, on the Governor's name-day, the flag tore and fell down, as some one sneezed when the presents were about to be offered and as the umbrella caught fire, these evil omens, I think, signify that the Government will decline and that Vinâyakan will fall into troubles. Throughout the marriage at his house, there was rain. I think that nevermore will he exercise authority and that he will fall into trouble. I have written accordingly.

Wednesday, April 27.[1]—When I was just leaving [my house] this morning, a peon came and said that the Governor wanted me, so I went to him and, finding him alone in his room, paid my respects. He asked why the merchants had not yet visited him. I replied, 'I brought them two days ago, but you after an angry conversation with the Second, went into your room ; so thinking that it was not the best time to see you, the merchants went away. Yesterday and the day before they were busy examining the country accounts with M. Lenoir, so that they did not visit you.' He replied, 'Have you been examining the accounts the last two days? I did not know that.'

[1] *19th Chittirai, Îswara.*

He continued, 'Out of the 30 lakhs of revenue due from the country for two years, you have paid only 14 lakhs and there is still a balance of 16 lakhs. When M. Godeheu departed, he said that there was no risk about the collection of the lease amount; but you have not paid the amount, because you have misappropriated it.' I replied, 'I have neither misappropriated anything nor spoiled the business. When M. Godeheu thrust the appointment on me, I was careful to let out the lands for increased rents, obtaining money security. When the first collections were made, should not the country accountants grant certain remissions by reason of the troubles there? You must be pleased to consider all this. The country accounts are quite different from merchants' accounts. If the accounts are properly examined, there is not a single cash short. I am not the man to write false accounts.' He answered, 'You have cheated me very much and are responsible for the amount. M. Desvoeux has been paying in 10,000 rupees a day. But if you are to take all the sums for your expenses, what can I do for the Company's expenses? Your Brâhman has cheated you; and you must pay me this amount.' I replied, 'I have neither spent the amount, nor have I cheated any. You must have been listening to the reports

of my enemies to speak like this. For six months in the first year, Pâpayya Pillai and Rangappa Mudali managed the country, and for 17 or 18 months afterwards I managed it. I have paid in the amounts collected during my period; but if you say otherwise, how can I contradict you? You know everything and must be pleased to examine the accounts. You will then find a balance due to me; but if a balance is found against me, I will pay it.' Thereon he said that he would remit at least half, namely, seven or eight lakhs, but not fourteen lakhs. 'Why should you remit anything?' I replied. 'You had better examine the accounts and you will know everything. What have I got to pay?'— 'Well,' he said, 'M. Desvoeux has paid in 17 lakhs for this year.' I reminded him that the amount for this year was 20 lakhs. He said twice or thrice that the amount was only 17 lakhs. Again I replied very submissively, 'No sir, the amount is 20 lakhs.' Immediately he rose, and going into his room, examined the accounts, after which he returned, but remained silent. At last he told me to be present when the merchants visited him. I agreed and came out.

Thursday, April 28.[1]—M. Lenoir said to-day, 'When the English were fighting in Bengal,

[1] *20th Chittirai, Îswara.*

the Nawâb of Bengal protected the French, so my house there worth 8,000 rupees and 14,000 rupees in cash—22,000 rupees in all—were saved. But if Bengal were to be lost, my daughter and wife would have only mud to live on, and my daughter's marriage might not be solemnised. My property here is only worth 10,000 rupees.' When he thus bewailed his difficulties, I thought that he was speaking with a private object in view; so I said, 'Well, I shall speak to you about it later on.' Thus I put him off.

Friday, April 29.[1]—I heard to-night that Lingha Chetti's man was saying that the English had captured a French factory in Bengal and that a Council was held this afternoon. I shall enquire about it fully and write. I also heard that six French commanders and twelve officers had been killed in the battle and that the soldiers had been taken prisoners.[2]

Saturday, April 30.[3]—This morning, I went to M. Lenoir's house to examine the accounts. He was depressed and after comparing the receipts with the accounts, he said that he did not know what to do, and put aside the accounts. I said I had heard of the Madras

[1] *21st Chittirai, Îswara.*

[2] Reading *Kaithipanna* for *Elithipanna.*

[3] *22nd Chittirai, Îswara.*

news to the effect that the English had captured the French factory in Bengal, and added that it could not be true. M. Lenoir answered, 'The English will only take the Company's money and goods, but will leave the councillors' and others' private goods. That is always agreed when we make peace.' This matter has upset him, and I think therefore that the factory in Bengal must have really been captured.

Afterwards M. Desvoeux came and asked M. Lenoir if he was looking into the accounts. The latter replied that he could not bring his mind to it. 'What haste is there?' M. Desvoeux replied. 'You had better wait five or six days, for the affair cannot be easily settled. All the country people must come, and it will take five or six months to settle it.' When M. Desvoeux spoke so indifferently, M. Lenoir told me to come on Monday and went apart to talk with M. Desvoeux. I went to the office in the flower-garden, and thence came home at noon.

I heard the following news :—Eight days ago, Rangâchâriyâr, a Tadwâdi Brâhman of Venkatammâlpêttai, went to beg of Uganthâchi the amaldâr, who would give nothing but evasive answers. At seven o'clock one night, the Brâhman wanted to go to Uganthâchi, but was prevented by the guards at

the gate. The Brâhman replied, 'Am I a thief? I am but a beggar and will go away when alms have been given; or if I am refused, I will go away saying that a Brâhman has been silenced and deprived of his alms.' Thereon the guards abused the Brâhman who returned the like. Then the guards fell upon him, striking him with their guns and killing him. As he was found dead opposite the *kachêri*, Uganthâchi ordered the corpse to be removed to the Brâhman's house, and the corpse was afterwards burnt. I told Râmânji Pandit to record this news.

MAY 1757.

Sunday, May 1.[1]—Les Anglais commandés par Mr. Clives au nombre de 1,200 Blancs, Topas, Caffrés, huit mile cipahis, accompagnés de 50 mille maures parurent aux approches de Chandernagor le 7 Mars 1757 &c., le 8 du dit mois ils campèrent aux limites de cette place et se disposèrent à en former le siége qui dura neuf jours. La nuit du 16 au 17 Mr. Renault de St. Germain, Gouverneur, envoya à leurs camps pour leur faire des propositions, qu'ils acceptèrent à des conditions bien dures, puisque cette place s'est rendue à discrétion, tous les effets, meubles, argent, monnaie &c., furent la capture des Anglais, et la garrison et les habitants prisonniers de guerre, heureusement que les femmes et les enfants s'étaient refugiés depuis quelques jours à Chinchuratte comptoir hollandais dans le voisinage de Chandernagor.

Le St. Priest[2] V'au d'Europe commandé par Mr. de la Vigne Buisson et la Favorite V'au de Caste[3] commandé par Mr. De Champigny étaient mouillés devant cette place, se battirent tresbien et ne se rendirent que quand leurs

[1] *23rd Chittirai, Îswara.*

[2] The *Saint Contest* was the name of La Vigne's ship. Hill's *Bengal*, Vol. I, p. clxviii.

[3] I suppose 'coste.'

V'aux étaient sur le point de couler à fond,[1] effectivement après ces deux capitaines en étaient sortis avec leurs équipages qu'ils furent engloutis dans le Gange.

Ces Messieurs firent mettre le feu à 19 autres vaisseaux ou embarcations de Caste qui étaient mouillés devant Chandernagor pour enlever aux Anglais l'avantage d'une si bonne siège, les particuliers en souffrent beaucoup et encore plus la Compagnie qui se ressentira considérablement de cette perte qui ne peut être réparée que par une longue suite des années.

Bengale deviendra désormais un séjour aussi triste que le côte Coromandel, les Européens ont commencé contre l'usage à porter le fer et le feu dans le Gange, ils finiront par s'y ruiner eux-mêmes entierment et à trainer une vie de misère parce que le feu de la discorde qui est toujours allumé chez eux . . . fera naître l'envie de se donner à chacun descris[?] de mounsubdars, de Nabab &c. L'Inde est totalement culbutée, il n'y aura plus rien à faire, Mr. Deleyrit perd dans cette expédition de Bengale 10 mille roupies au moins, Mr. le Noir 60 mille, Mr. Law entièrement ruiné. Mrs. Renaud, de la Porterie, Nicolas sont réduits à rien aussi des autres à proportion

[1] Actually sunk by the French before the attack in order to block the passage against Watson's advance up the river.

qui sont donnés de tout ou du moins ont fort peu de chose.

Mr. Rimont [*sic*] dans l'attaque a reçuune blessure d'un coup de pierre dont il est mort trois jours aprés la prise.

When I went this morning to pay my respects to the Governor, I found him upstairs. He was moody and stared at me repeatedly. About nine o'clock, he went into his room, and I went to my office in the flower-garden.

A French letter has been received containing the following news about the fight in Bengal.

Mr. Clive, the commander in Bengal, appeared before the French town of Chandernagore on March 7,[1] 1757, with Europeans, Topasses, Coffrees—1,200 in all—8,000 sepoys and 50,000 Bengal sepoys. On the 8th he captured the camp equipage and surrounded and besieged the town from the 9th to 16th.[2] The siege grew fiercer and fiercer. At last M. Renault de St. Germain, the Directeur-General of our French factory, fought very bravely, but could not hold out, so he concluded peace with the English and surrendered the fort with its goods, treasure &c., in great despair.[3] The Directeur-General, the Second

[1] He did not encamp before Chandernagore until the 12th.

[2] The place capitulated March 23.

[3] The articles of capitulation are printed in Hill's *Bengal*, Vol. II, p. 292.

and the troops, people, merchants and all were taken prisoners of war. Some women with their children and goods had departed before the war to the Dutch factory at Chinsura. M. la Vigne Buisson, the captain of the Europe ship, the *Saint-Priest*, which lay at anchor off Chandernagore, and M. Champigny, captain of a country ship, resisted the English well, and when unable to hold out any longer, in order to avoid delivering their ships to the English, they unloaded the cargo of the two ships and set them on fire together with 19 boats &c., belonging to the merchants, preferring to sink them all with the boats in the Ganges rather than let them fall into the enemy's hands. The merchants' losses are proportionate to their income and the Company's loss is great. Ever since the establishment of Bengal such a fierce battle has never been fought nor such heavy losses sustained. This misfortune has been brought about by the evil stars of this town. Now that the Europeans are fighting here as fiercely as they do in their own country, and raining fire on the Ganges, the Muhammadans who are now weak will grow stronger and flourish, for the hat-wearers cannot now make a cash by their trade in Bengal, the Tamils will be ruined, and trade will fall. M. Leyrit, the Governor, must have lost about a lakh of rupees,

M. Lenoir about 60,000, and M. Law his whole fortune. Others also must have suffered losses. M. Renault who was wounded by a shot from a great gun died on the third day after the capture of the fort.[1]

I hear that M. Saubinet who arrived this evening, set out again immediately with 100 soldiers, but his destination is unknown. In this battle in Bengal, M. Champigny, M. Renault, and M. du Bausset's brother-in-law, and sister-in-law,[2] besides captains and officers have been killed.

Tuesday, May 3.[3]—I hear to-day that M. Saubinet has been daily attacking Udaiyârpâlaiyam and the fort there with one or two hundred European and Topass infantry ; and that Kônêri Nâyakkan who has gone to Udaiyârpâlaiyam has been asked by the Udaiyâr to pay two lakhs of rupees. As the English have captured the French town of Chandernagore in Bengal, and there are few troops at Fort St. David, I think the troops who are being sent, may march upon Fort St. David, though they are pretending to march towards Udaiyârpâlaiyam.

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[1] This seems to be an elaborated version of the French passage of the Diary printed above, page 371.

[2] I think relatives of du Bausset's wife, Marie Leridé, born at St. Thomé, whom he married in 1741. For a curious reference in this connection see *Lettres et Conventions*, p. 268.

[3] *25th Chittirai, Îswara.*

I hear that yesterday Kandappa Mudali sent for Venkatanâranappa Ayyan, the Mysore vakîl, by Gôpâlakrishna Ayyan and offered to capture the Trichinopoly fort for them in 20 days if the Mysore people promised to pay 20 lakhs of rupees besides the arrears. Venkatanâranappa Ayyan agreed to this, and despatched letters and men to Mysore.

I also hear that Tândavarâya Pillai's younger brother has been despatched to Eravâsanallûr which will yield a revenue of two lakhs of gold [chakrams].

As Ponnâchi and Kanda Pillai are coming here from Chingleput, M. Goupil was asked for gate-passes to admit them. When he had given these, he was further asked for passes for people to go out and welcome them, but these he refused saying that he must have the Governor's orders for it. My man therefore turned to go, but M. Goupil called him back and taking him to the Governor said, 'This man asked for passes for those that are coming, and I have given them; and then he asked for passes for those who are going out to receive them. I declined.'—'You cannot do that,' the Governor replied, 'they are free to go and come.' My man returned therefore and said that passes had been given for those who are going out. On the

13th *Kârttigai*, *Dhâthu*,[1] this Governor ordered the gate-people not to allow people to pass and to-day he has revoked that order. Did I commit any mistake in the month of *Kârttigai* to merit such hindrance, and what have I done to-day for him to cancel that order? So what is destined to happen happens at the appointed time.

The news to-day is as follows:—When Chandâ Sâhib's son and 'Alî Naqî Sâhib sent word about the receipt of presents from Taqî Sâhib, Madanânda Pandit went immediately with the Governor's palankin and music and put the dress of honour, etc., in the palankin; and a Muhammadan who is with Chandâ Sâhib's son and accompanied the stallion with white face and legs, was carried in the palankin as though he were a nawâb sent by Taqî Sâhib, and borne into the Fort to the place where the Governor usually gets down. When the Muhammadan went upstairs, the Governor advanced a long distance to receive him and embraced and took him in. A salute of 11 guns was then fired. The presents are:—A stallion with white face and legs, a laced dress of honour, a few rolls of silk, a chain with a pendant, *turra* and a *bazuband*. The Muhammadan then said that he had been sent

[1] November 24, 1756.

by Taqî Sâhib, and delivered a letter with compliments. When the Governor asked his age, he was told it was about 70. I hear the Governor said that he wished to see him again and that he would take an opportunity to do so.

I hear that, in reply to the Nânâ's letter received yesterday about the *chauth*, a reply was written yesterday as follows :—'About the *chauth* you have mentioned, I write to inform you that, when two of our ships which were despatched from Bengal to Mocha touched at Surat, your men and the Nawâb of Surat seized them and plundered about five lakhs of rupees. We are friends and I have been willing to benefit you in many affairs. But after such conduct of your people, how can I continue to be friends with you ? Write to them therefore to restore our ships and goods. All the country here has been seized by the English except that portion which is in our possession. You should deal suitably with the English to get money.' This letter was written by means of Narasinga Râo's gumastah and despatched, with this addition that good presents would be given for the return of the ships.

I also hear that, on learning the loss of Elamânasûr, the killedar of Chêtpattu wrote to Muhammad 'Alî Khân and hoisted the white flag in the fort, thus making it appear that it

has passed into their possession, with a view to his own protection. Mîr Sâhib's women and others were seized and imprisoned yesterday.

Wednesday, May 4.[1]—I went to M. Lenoir's house to-day but hearing that he had gone to the Fort to attend the council, I went there and paid my respects to the Governor upstairs. He thanked me and went to the council-chamber with the councillors and the Second. I went to the office in the flower-garden and thence came home at noon.

At five o'clock a man came and told me that the Second wanted me. I went at six. He returned at seven from his drive, and when I had paid my respects, he said, 'Troubles are impending between us and the English. Can any money be expected from the country and is there any one able to provide some?' I said that there was no one. I then went to the office in the flower-garden where I heard that the council had decided to declare war, and sent M. Chevreau as commissary with orders for the Europeans, Topasses and others to march to Srîrangam, that the European writers had been enrolled as sentinels, that the councillors and the Second had each been entrusted with definite duties, and that Trichinopoly

[1] *26th Chittirai, Îswara.*

would be attacked. I understand that the Second has been entrusted with the management of the finances.

When I went to Gôpâlaswâmi's house, he told me that Gôpâlanârâyanappa Ayyan's son had said to him, 'The Villupuram country which will yield a revenue of a lakh and ten thousand this year, has been leased for 80,000 and that the remaining 30,000 has been eaten up by expenses. I mention this to you now as it may be useful as a proof on a subsequent occasion. I asked Savarirâya Pillai why the country had been rated so low. He replied that he had had nothing to do with it and that Wazârat Râyar [1] was responsible for the balance. My father told me that he would tell Wazârat Râyar about it when he met him and publish all the items of expenditure. Please tell the Wazârat Râyar about it.'

Saturday, May 7.[2]—Large sums of money are due from the poligar of Udaiyârpâlaiyam for Bhuvanagiri and other countries under his control, and for the matter of plunder. Moreover large sums are due as peshkash from the poligar of Gingee. Though I sent vakîl Venkata Râo many a time to demand this, he has paid nothing, and is behaving rebelliously. When I told the Governor about this, he wrote

[1] He who adorns the office of *wazir, i.e.*, the Diarist.

[2] *29th Chittirai, Îswara.*

to M. Maissin at Srîrangam to attack the Udaiyâr and collect the money. M. Maissin did so, but made his own account with the Udaiyâr, and after writing suitably to the Governor, returned to Pondichery. By this, the Company has lost its money. The Governor has now ordered Kônêri Nâyakkan who came here as the Turaiyûr vakîl, to proceed to Udaiyârpâlaiyam with M. d'Auteuil's army which was sent against Elamânasûr. Europeans, Topasses, and sepoys, have thus been sent with powder, shot and other munitions of war against the Udaiyâr and his fortress.

There is news that the English have seized a portion of the Masulipatam country and Mr. Clive, who captured our French settlement of Chandernagore in Bengal, means to march to Madras and capture the country in our hands here ; the English from Cuddalore are troubling [us] right up to the Bound-hedge. Therefore all the white people have been enlisted, given guns and posted in batches of ten or twenty as guards on the road as far as my Choultry in the north, the Mortândi water-pandal, Villiyanallûr and Muttirusa Pillai's Choultry, with instructions to examine every one passing to and fro.

Moreover under the management of Vinâyaka Pillai, things are taking place unheard of since the foundation of the town. Poor

Agamudaiya widows who earn a bare and uncertain living by pounding rice and selling it, and who have scarcely a cloth to wear, are annoyed when they go about the streets with uncovered head by barbers detailed to seize such women in the streets, and pull away the cloth with which they cover their breasts, and tear off three cubits of it. Vinâyaka Pillai is causing so much injustice that I cannot bear the people's complaints. When the country was in my possession, I did not cause the least obstruction or beat anybody; but the complaints that were made were unheeded, culprits were not punished and those imprisoned for the debt to the Company were released without my knowledge. I do not know what orders the Governor can have given to Savarirâyan, who beats or punishes amaldârs, headmen and cultivators. If questioned, his replies are unspeakable. I think all this injustice reigns in the town because of the people's sins and the town's destined downfall.

Sunday, May 8.[1]—This is the news of to-day:—During the attack on the Udaiyâr's fortress, the poligar sallied forth and inflicted some loss. Some were wounded and some killed. I hear a padré has been sent to give

[1] *30th Chittirai, Îswara.*

absolution to the dying, according to the letter that has been received about it.

Monday, May 9.[1]—I hear this morning that Vinâyaka Pillai and M. d'Auteuil who went to camp, left Pennâdam, after setting fire to the fence, and the troops have entered the Udaiyâr's country and burnt two villages.

Subbâ Jôsier predicted that this town would decline in prosperity, that those under the influence of Mercury would suffer misfortune, and troubles would arise from the south-west. According to this prediction, troubles arose in Udaiyârpâlaiyam and the fortress there, and there are fears about the town's future. As the Governor and the councillors have imposed a tax on castes and the town is destined to decline, we shall see what Mercury brings.

Twenty-five days ago the Governor in anger with Guntûr Bâli Chetti forbade him to enter the Fort. But to-day Guntûr Bâli Chetti must have done something to please Kandappan, for the latter allowed him to be admitted into the Fort with his accounts for Uppâthu Sâmbayyan's affair. When Bâli Chetti went into the Fort with his accounts, he was told to wait downstairs while his accounts were being examined.

I hear that Kandappan sent for Kadâkumaran, Chandramati Pillai and Ella Pillai and obtained a five-year lease of three cawnies of

[1] *31st Chittirai, Îswara.*

land in the out-villages, at seven or eight pagodas a cawny, although each cawny will yield a revenue of 22.

As Vinâyakan has been receiving from the Company twice the actual costs of the camp expenses, and misappropriating the balance, M. Chevreau and M. Saubinet, perceiving the uselessness of fighting while Vinâyakan took the profits, have decided to get hold of two merchants and propose to the Governor themselves to manage the expenses by means of the two Chettis, in order that they may share the profits between themselves. Should they succeed, Vinâyakan will be ruined.

Tuesday, May 10.[1]—This evening I sent by Râmâji Pandit to M. Boyelleau the letters I had received from the Europeans. After reading them, M. Boyelleau returned the letters saying, 'These letters do not refer to the troubles caused by the English and their attacks. Let this be written. Do you not send people to Madras, Cuddalore and Arcot for news?' Râmâji Pandit replied, 'How can that be done when the Governor does not mention or say anything about it? He has been saying that he has been duped, so how can men be sent?' M. Boyelleau said, 'That's not right;

[1] *1st Vaigâsi, Îswara.*

send men for news.' When Râmâji Pandit reported this to me, I answered, 'M. Boyelleau has said so out of ignorance. I used to obtain news from Arcot, Madras and Cuddalore according to the Governor's orders. Then he accused me of sending news to the English and Muhammad 'Alî Khân. I told him that I had only sent men, because he told me to get news, that he was accusing me falsely, that I was not a man of that sort, and that as he was so difficult to satisfy, I could not concern myself further with a matter which gave occasion for such accusations.'

The Second having told me that the Governor had ordered a list to be made of the houses in the town, with particulars of the owners' callings and property, I sent for the Nayinâr's writers and told them to bring the tax-accounts for the town and prepare with their help and that of Gôpâlaswâmi a list of the houses in the several streets, with the names of the owners, their professions and their property. I also ordered that Râyasam Venkatâchala Ayyan, Perumâl Ayyan and Venkatanarasa Ayyan should help in writing the lists which took them till midnight.

Saturday, May 14.[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning, I heard that the Governor

[1] *5th Vaigâsi, Îswara.*

was still in his room, and had ordered the porter only to allow upstairs such people as he should send for. So I went to my office in the flower-garden. There I heard that the Governor was busy writing a reply to the letter from M. St. Georges,[1] captain of the ship that has reached Mahé. M. Desvoeux is said to have gone to the Governor with 2,000 pagodas to be sent to Mahé for the expenses, but returned dejected; it is not known what the Governor said to him about the finances.

Great guns have been mounted on the fort ramparts instead of the small ones which have been removed.

M. d'Auteuil and others who went to Udaiyârpâlaiyam with an army, sent Kônêri Nâyakan to the Udaiyâr, after they had attended to their own affairs, and went to Ûtatûr, where they camped for two days and then left for Srîrangam. They are angry with the Arumpâtai Vinâyakan, and have beaten his man Saravanai and others. The Governor is angry with them for departing from the Udaiyâr's jungles for Srîrangam, and has sent Vinâyakan, but he, being afraid to go direct to them, intends to go to Srîrangam by way of Vriddhachalam along with the camp equipage.

[1] Ranga Pillai writes 'Senjorulu.' It is very possible that he was expected in command of a squadron. For the facts, see Lacour-Gayet, *La marine militaire sous le règne de Louis XV*, p. 399.

M. Desvoeux, being certain that he could get no more money from the country, in order to hide his misconduct went to the Governor, and told him falsely that, as troubles were brewing with the English, gentlemen here were writing that the country would be conquered in *Âni*[1] and that no more money could be collected.

The following presents were sent to Taqî Sâhib of Wandiwash :—

Four pieces of scarlet broadcloth of the first quality—67 [ ] yards ;

a piece of scarlet broadcloth 6 yards ;

six small knives with silver handles ;

six small knives with pearl handles inlaid in silver ;

a telescope ;

a box of white Bengal candles weighing 136 pounds ;

two rolls of red damask ;

a small gun ; and a pair of small pistols.

Sunday, May 15.[2]—I went to the Fort this morning and paid my respects to the Governor as he was going to church with four or five persons to hear mass. Then I went to my office in the flower-garden. A salute of 21 guns was fired at Pirambai on the arrival of the Second and some of the councillors.

[1] June—July.

[2] *6th Vaigâsi, Îswara.*

Though I had given to the Governor a list of the articles to be sent to Taqî Sâhib, the articles were not sent according to that list but a fresh list was written according to which the articles were sent.

Letters have been written to the country for cots, provisions, ghi, etc.

Without any orders Kandappa Mudali went to the Choultry where were imprisoned Mîr Sâhib's wife and younger brother who were brought from Elavânasûr after [Mîr Sâhib's] death, and asked them secretly what they would give if he procured their release. They replied that, if he would release and give them the money they had lost in the plunder, and the Elavânasûr country, they would give double what they had promised to Savarirâya Pillai besides continuing here. It is not known what he said further about his own affairs.

To-day also the Governor ordered nobody to be allowed upstairs, as he was conferring with M. Desvoeux. I hear that Kandappan and Madanânda Pandit alone were admitted.

Friday, May 20.[1]—I heard at six o'clock this evening that the Europeans were conferring as their houses also had been included in the list prepared for the war tax.

[1] *11th Vaigâsi, Îswara.*

I also hear that the Europeans and sepoys despatched to Srîrangam crossed the Cauvery and plûndered Woriyûr, seized Uyyakondântirumalai, and took possession of the Cauvery country that had been occupied by the English; they were nearing the fort and expected to storm it on the 19th or 20th.

It is also said that more than 40 cannon with powder, shot and munitions of war have been made ready at Madras. M. Bussy's army on its way northwards to Bengal has been beaten off by a strong poligar and M. Bussy has returned to Chicacole with great loss.

Saturday, May 21.[1]—I heard to-day that the Nânâ who is in Mysore with his troops, had concluded peace and departed northwards with his army; the fort gate had been closed for ten days and nobody allowed to go out by Nandi Râjâ's orders, and it was not known what was going on in the fort.

I also hear that Nawâb Safdar 'Alî Khân's son who was to have married the daughter of Murtazâ 'Alî Khân of Vellore, died of small-pox a week ago; many Muhammadans had died after two motions, but since this none has died of cholera.

Sunday, May 22.[2]—I heard this evening that there had been a fight between the French

[1] *12th Vaigâsi, Îswara.*

[2] *13th Vaigâsi, Îswara.*

at Srîrangam and the people in the Trichinopoly fort, in which about five had been killed on either side ; as troops from Tanjore and the Maravan Tondimân are said to be advancing to the assistance of the fort people, the French have written to Pondichery for longer ladders with which to scale the walls and so the Governor is about to send all the available bamboos in the town.

Monday, May 23.[1]—I write below in Telugu the contents of the Mysore letter received to-day [ ].

Wednesday, May 25.[2]—This is the news of to-day :—As there was news yesterday that the English had attacked the Utramallûr country and taken possession of it, 150 troopers and 200 foot have been enlisted to be sent to Utramallûr to continue the fight. I also hear that Zuhûr Bahâdûr has been desired to remain there and strengthen his position.

Friday, May 27.[3]—I hear that to-day the soldiers have been supplied with new muskets, the councillors have been posted at the several gates, and these orders will be carried out from to-morrow.

I also hear that the Governor has written to M. d'Auteuil at Srîrangam ordering him to

[1] *14th Vaigâsi* [*Îswara*]. [2] *16th Vaigâsi, Îswara*
[3] *18th Vaigâsi, Îswara.*

remain there if he can capture the Trichinopoly fort, but otherwise to return with his troops.

I hear that the sloop which arrived here from Mascareigne four or five days ago, brought the news that 16 ships had arrived from Europe, which with the seven ships already there are coming here, and that the dubâshes of the Second, M. Guillard, M. Desvoeux and M. Lenoir, are publishing the news which their masters have been telling in their houses.

JUNE 1757.

Wednesday, June 1.[1]—At eight o'clock this morning, M. Leyrit the Governor sent for me, so I went. He said that, as war had begun between the French and the English, I should enlist some sepoys. I agreed. He spoke about other matters to which I replied, after which I took leave and went to the office in the flower-garden, and afterwards came home at noon.

Thursday, June 2.[2]—I told the Governor to-day that men could be raised more easily if I sent for the several poligars who are the relations of the Nayinâr. The Governor thought that I meant the people in the country and objected that that would upset the management. I said that I only meant the people in the bound-villages of Valudâvûr and Villiyanallûr. 'Then send for them,' he replied, and gave me a letter for the despatch of 36 bullocks with the army proceeding to Âlambarai. Taking it, I came out and, having translated it into Tamil, I gave it to the Company's head-peon, telling him to have the number collected and sent. Then I went to my office in the flower-garden.

I then sent for the head-peon Nayinâr and told him to get people by sending for his

[1] *23rd Vaigâsi, Îswara.* [2] *24th Vaigâsi, Îswara.*

relations. He said he could get about 300 and added, 'The Europeans here are compelling people to bear arms. Every one wants to exercise authority; and so people fear to come in. If there will be no trouble from the Europeans, I can send for proper people.'—'Well,' I said, 'I have entrusted the business to you and shall see that you have no trouble from the Europeans.' Then I came home at noon.

Friday, June 3.[1]—When I was ready to leave for the Fort this morning, a Company's peon came and said that the Governor wanted me. I went and paid my respects to the Governor upstairs. He asked smilingly if I had arranged for bullocks. I said I had, and added, 'When I told the Nayinâr to get people, he replied that, owing to the European troubles, he could not do anything; but I told him that he need not be afraid and that he must get proper people. As his people are trustworthy, they may be posted to guard the ramparts and the men already guarding the ramparts sent wherever necessary.' He smiled and said that that should be done.

The councillor of Tranquebar who is on his way northwards talked with the Governor for about half an hour and departed.

[1] *25th Vaiyâsi, Îswara.*

M. Desvoeux came with a sad countenance and he and the Governor went in to talk. I waited in the southern hall. After talking with the Governor about half an hour, M. Desvoeux came out and went to the sorting-godown ; but immediately the chobdar followed him and said that he was wanted by the Governor. M. Desvoeux looked so sad and he returned to the Governor with such trembling limbs and faltering feet, that I wondered at his dejection.

When Tândavarâya Pillai was returning last night from the Perumâl temple, accompanied by 100 people, he met Mêlugiri Chetti ; so, leaving his followers and taking Mêlugiri Chetti to a distance, he said to him :—'I am a relative of Pillai Avargal, but though I came here with his support, I am not now held in esteem ; as I have committed no mistake in his affairs, he should be pleased to treat me kindly. I can account even for every cash I have picked up ; and I will show him my accounts whenever he likes ; so he should treat me with kindness.' Mêlugiri Chetti told him that I had been saying how clever he was, how he knew everything and how skilfully he collected money, and that I had been speaking well of him. Tândavarâya Pillai replied, 'It is true that I have collected money with great success, but for the

last two weeks, I have not been able to do much, or collect a single cash. The country is disturbed and the price of paddy has risen; so I cannot do much.' Mêlugiri Chetti reported all this to me. As no money has been received from the country, the Governor has no doubt spoken severely to M. Desvoeux who, in turn, must have been severe with Savarirâyan. That, I think, is why Tândavarâya Pillai spoke thus and M. Desvoeux goes about so dejectedly. I then went to my office in the flower-garden.

Saturday, June 4.[1]—As I was not well, I did not go out. Below is written in Telugu M. Leyrit, the Governor's reply to Nandi Râjâ of Mysore [ ].

The troops despatched to Srîrangam reached the high ground to-day.

Sunday, June 5.[2]—Pîr Muhammad Sâhib of Ganjam reported as follows the news he had heard from messengers on their way to Negapatam from the Dutch port of Pâlakollu to the northward :—M. Bussy who took M. Law with him when he marched with his army to Chicacole, Rajahmundry, Ellore, etc., places, appointed him Nawâb of Ellore and Rajahmundry, which M. Law began to govern. At this time, Mr. Clive, commander of the English

[1] *26th Vaigâsi, Iswara.* [2] *27th Vaigâsi, Iswara.*

forces in Bengal, attacked the French and unlawfully seized the French factory of Chandernagore. On hearing this, M. Bussy directed M. Law to take possession of all the English ports—Vizagapatam adjoining Ellore and Rajahmundry, Mêlapalle, Kâpulapâlaiyam, Gôpâgiri and Bandamûrlanka at the mouth of the Godavari, and ordered the French white flag to be hoisted. M. Law therefore obtained the assistance of Reddi Pôlavaram Râjâ, Mangapati Dêvu, Nûvugidu Appâ Râo, Mogalturru Venkata Râjâ, Peddavaram Jagapati Râjâ, etc., zamindars, with their large armies, including Europeans, artillery and munitions of war and commanders, and having halted near Yânâm, he sent out detachments which captured Mêlapalle, Kâpulapâlaiyam, etc., factories belonging to the English situated east of Yânâm and mentioned above, and ordered the French flag to be hoisted there. He then despatched an army to attack Mr. Andrews, captain of the English troops holding the fortress in the port of Bandamûrlanka, situated four leagues south of Yânâm.[1] The English captain fled after fighting for one day, so our

[1] The English had attempted (very vainly) to secure concessions on the northern coast in order to protect their trade from the consequences of the French occupation of the Circars, and their expulsion from Masulipatam. But they had neither troops nor fortifications worth the name, even at Vizagapatam. Andrews was the covenanted servant in charge of these temporary factories, not a soldier as Ranga Pillai seems to suppose.

troops removed the English flag and hoisted the white flag. As M. Bussy has ordered M. Law to march with his army towards the English port of Vizagapatam, which is to be attacked jointly, M. Law will proceed thither. This is the news which Pîr Muhammad has heard from the messengers. By the Hindu science of astrology, it was foretold that in the year *Îswara*, all the English ports would pass into the hands of the French who would hoist the white flag in them. Accordingly the English forts and ports are falling into French hands, and all may rest assured that all places, from England in Europe to Madras and Fort St. David in India, will pass into French hands. I am sure that this will happen.

Monday, June 6.[1]—I hear that Savarirâyan has received news that the English army at Arcot with 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân's army is attacking Wandiwash and that Ayyan Sâstri who entered the fort has been surrounded by them ; M. Desvoeux is said to have communicated it to the Monseigneur Governor.[2]

As formerly when Taqî Sâhib was given a jaghir, Savarirâyan was given presents, M. Desvoeux, going to 'Alî Naqî Sâhib's house, said that he would help to drive away the

[1] *28th Vaigâsi, Îswara.* Varadarâjâ's Festival.

[2] This was Colonel Adlercron's abortive attack on Wandiwash. See *Orme*, Vol. II, p. 218.

enemies who must not be suffered to capture the fort, and that the other should therefore write so that success may attend. They agreed and presented M. Desvoeux with a dress of honour, etc., for the jaghir that has been given.

I also hear that M. Leyrit, the Governor, has received a letter about an English plan to attack Âlambarai.

Tuesday, June 7.[1]—As to-day was the anniversary of Periya Pillai Avargal,[2] I did not go out. But I heard that M. Saubinet had been ordered last night to march to Wandiwash with half the troops that lay encamped on the high ground.

Thursday, June 9.[3]—I went to the Fort this morning, but, as I saw the Governor going into his room in conversation with M. Desvoeux, I went to my office in the flower-garden. I hear that the Governor's conversation with M. Desvoeux lasted from nine o'clock till afternoon.

I hear that in the attack of Wandiwash, the English commander who had entrenched himself has been killed along with many others, on which the English retreated[4]; Ayyan Sâstri's people brought this glad

[1] *29th Vaigâsi, Îswara.*

[2] *i.e.*, Ranga Pillai's father.

[3] *31st Vaigâsi, Îswara.* The feast of the Sacrament.

[4] Only the last part of this news was true. Neither Adlercron nor any one else was killed.

news to Savarirâyan who related it to the Governor at noon when he was talking with M. Desvoeux, and then departed. When Muttu Mallâ Reddi and Ayyan Sâstri's vakîl Bhujanga Râo reported this glad news to 'Alî Naqî Sâhib, the latter and Razâ Sâhib presented Muttu Mallâ Reddi with a shawl worth 15 rupees, Bhujanga Râo with a chintz turban worth two pagodas, and the three other people with 15 rupees each, and dismissed them with directions to pay their respects to M. Desvoeux.

I hear that orders have been written to escort M. Saubinet and his followers to Conjeeveram and that they will reach Wandiwash to-morrow.

Friday, June 10.[1]—I hear that M. Leyrit has despatched M. Saubinet with instructions to attack the English if they are encamped near Wandiwash, but if they have retired beyond Wandiwash, to capture the fort of Karunguli.

Saturday, June 11.[2]—At half-past seven this morning, M. Le Gris, M. Charpentier, M. Solminiac and four or five others came, and then M. Collé, the Bengal councillor.

M. Desvoeux and Savarirâyan then came with 100 or 200 sepoys to get muskets. Pennâthûr Sâmâ Râo came with a certain number of

[1] *32nd Vaigâsi, Îswara.* [2] *1st Âni, Îswara.*

people and talked. Then I went to the office in the flower-garden. I will write later anything important I may hear.

Tuesday, June 14.[1]—I write below what I heard this morning. According to the astrologer's prediction that the position of the planets would change from the night of 4th *Âni*, and that my affair would be discussed in a council that would meet on the 15th, the councillors met, but I have not heard whether my affair was taken up or not or why they met. As the astrologer has predicted that my prosperity will increase from to-day, experience leads me to believe that it will prove to be the case, for what is destined to happen will happen.

The Governor said to me, 'Don't you know of the war between the English and the French?' I replied, 'Formerly when they seized our ships, Madras was lost. The astrologers had predicted this, and I informed M. Dupleix of it. They have now captured Bengal, but all their factories are about to pass into your hands, the astrologers say.' I then took leave and went to Savarirâya Pillai's house for the ceremony of fixing the post, and then came home.

[1] *4th Âni, Îswara,*

Thursday, June 16.[1]—One or two Europeans say that there has been an interview between M. Saubinet and him.[2] He has come here as the Governor sent for him on receipt of the above information. M. Saubinet is said to be at Utramallûr. The English are collecting troops at several places, and Muhammad 'Alî Khân has entertained about 1,500 foot, and is enlisting sepoys. This is the news and in *Âvani* and *Purattâsi*,[3] the English and Muhammad 'Alî Khân will be overthrown. Till then, they will be haughty, so we must lie in wait to attack them.

Friday, June 17.[4]—M. d'Autcuil was the only European who did not visit the *Gouvernement* and Fort to-day.

M. d'Auteuil who marched to Trichinopoly, neither stormed the walls nor captured the fort by stratagem, nor even stirred when he saw M. Caillaud the commander entering the fort with 200 or 300 sepoys and 100 Europeans.[5] The Europeans say that M. Leyrit, the Governor, has forbidden him to enter his presence or go into the Fort.

[1] *6th Âni, Îswara.*
[2] Probably d'Auteuil.
[3] August-September and September-October.
[4] *7th Âni, Îswara.*
[5] See *Orme*, Vol. II, p. 215.

Saturday, June 18.[1]—A European (whose name I do not know) told me of news received by Europeans from Surat that 17 ships were expected, with the man who had been Governor of China[2] as Governor of this place. I have written accordingly.

Sunday, June 19.[3]—I hear that M. Saubinet's army has plundered Conjeeveram and marched to Utramallûr.

Friday, June 24.[4]—I hear that M. Desvoeux received a letter yesterday from Ayyan Sâstri, saying that M. Saubinet who had halted near Wandiwash opened fire and attacked the fort of Wandiwash as Taqî Sâhib had not given him rich presents; a small shell fell into the fort; and out of panic the fort-people fired their guns at the French army, on which Ayyan Sâstri brought and gave 1,000 rupees saying that Taqî Sâhib had ordered him to do so. It is also said that the English are collecting troops.

Saturday, June 25.[5]—I heard this morning that 100 soldiers had deserted M. Saubinet's army, but I do not know if it is true. I have recorded this news because it is current among the Europeans and officers.

[1] *8th Âni, [Îswara].*

[2] *i.e.*, the Chief of the French factory at Canton. I do not know who is intended.

[3] *9th Âni, Îswara.*

[4] *14th Âni, Îswara.*

[5] *15th Âni, Îswara.*

Horse-messengers arrived from M. Saubinet, and it is said that they have brought letters hastily about the English retreat and their intention to renew the attack after collecting troops. I do not know whether the Governor is anxious about this, but time will show.

APPENDIX.

(See above, page 205.)

LETTER FROM ÂNANDA RANGA PILLAI TO M. BOYELLEAU, DATED SEPTEMBER 7, 1756

(FROM THE GALLOIS-MONTBRUN COLLECTION).

A Monsieur Boyelleau, Conseiller du Conseil Superieur.
Monsieur,

Mr. Godeheu s'étant informé du produit des aldées de cette province et ayant vu par les rapports qui lui ont été faits qu'on lui avait déguisé la vérité en bien des pointes, a jugé convenable que puisque j'étais courtier de la Compagnie de me charger de l'adjudication de ses domaines et m'en a passé le bail pour cinque ans ; je le prévins des difficultés qu'il y avait dans l'exploitation et que malgré les soins et les peines que je me donnerais pour faire rentrer promptement les fonds il se trouverait toujours à la fin de chaque année 3 à 4 lacs de l'arrieré qu'on ne pouvait recouvrait que 4 mois après l'année ; il adhéra à mes représentations et m'ordonna de travailler pour le mieux et les interets de la Compagnie.

Ayant ouï ensuite par les informations que j'ay fait faire par d'honnêtes gens que les avaldars qui régissaient cy-devant chaque paragana n'avaient pas tenu la main à la régie en negligeant, par l'appat des presents qu'ils exigeaient, de faire payer les habitants aux termes qu'ils avaient pris et de veiller à ce que toutes les terres soient mises en rapport, mais qu'au contraire ils avaient commis des vexations si fortes que plusieurs avaient pris la fuite; ayant de plus reconnu par les comptes qui m'ont été rendus que dans les 6 mois de régie il etait rentré aussi peu de fonds, j'ai fait venir les chefs des habitants auxquels j'ai représenté leur negligence, que doresnavant il fallait qu'ils fussent plus exactes à payer, que l'année était à moitié revolu, qu'il etait de leur devoir de ne

laisser aucun terrein inculte, et pour les engager au travail je leur ay fait à tous des présents en leur renvoyant.

Depuis plusieurs messieurs de cette colonie sont venus s' offrir d'être caution pour des fermiers qu'ils m'ont présentés et m'ont fait les sollicitations les plus pressantes de leur adjuger les paraganas qu'ils m'ont demandés : je leur ay representé tous les inconvénients qui pourraient arriver par la coutume où sont les fermiers de trainer les payements en longueur le plus qu'ils peuvent et que je serais obligé de les importuner ainsi que les fermiers pour les contraindre à payer, ce qui les indisposerait contre moy ; sur mes représentations les messieurs m'ont fait les protestations les plus fortes qu'ils seront exactes à faire les payements aux termes préfixés. Je me suis rendu à leurs promesses pensant que les fonds de la Compagnie seraient plus assurés entre leurs mains par la capital considerable que je connaissais à la plupart d'eux, mais j'ai été trompé dans mes espérances, ainsy que vous l'alles voir par la suite.

Une fois que les messieurs ont été munis du bail que je leur ay passé, ils se sont rendus dans chaque paragana, ont régi et gouverné par eux même, au lieu de laisser agir les avaldars qu'ils ont soustrait de la subordination qu'ils me doivent en les empèchant d'executer les ordres que je leur donnais pour le bien du service et les interêts de la Compagnie ; les messieurs ont perçu les fonds sans me faire de remises dans les termes convenus, de plus ils se sont portés aux extrémités les plus dures en vexant les habitants qu'ils ont maltraités pour se faire payer des amendes qu'ils leur mposent sur de legers prétextes, ce qui a été cause que plusieurs se sont retirés et ont abandonné le pays.

Les chefs des habitants sont venus à differentes fois me porter leurs plaintes de toutes les concussions que l'on exerçait à leur égard et voulaient les porter directement à Monsieur le Gouverneur ; considerant qu'une pareille démarche

nuirait aux interêts respectifs, je les ay détournés en les assurant que j' étais persuadé que les messieurs ne recidiveraient point et défereraient aux représentations que je leur ferais à ce sujet et qu'ils pouvaient compter qu'ils seraient traités par la suite plus humainement et suivant les règles de l'équité : je les renvoyais contents, moyennant quelques présents que je fis à chacun. J'écrivis ensuite à ces messieurs ainsi que les avaldars que s'ils continuaient à traiter ainsi mal les habitants ils auraient de la peine à faire rentrer les fonds et qu'ils me mettraient dans le plus grands des embarras pour remplir mes engagements envers la Compagnie, mais que pour peu qu'ils voulussent se prêter au bien du service en traitant avec douceur l'habitant, nous aurions la satisfaction de remplir avec aisance nos engagements.

Mes representations ont été infructueuses ; bien loin d'y avoir égard ils ont réiteré leurs concussions et employé de nouveau les mauvais traitements, en voulant retirer d'un terrein le double du produit qu'il peut supporter en refusant aux habitants la répartition qui leur est duë par récolte et en leur faisant vendre les grains qu'ils reservent pour servir à la mousson prochaine ; la mauvaise façon d'agir de ces messieurs a produit un trés grand mal. Il en est resulté que l'habitant se voyant ainsi vexé et frustré de ce qui lui est deu, ne s'est occupé qu'à travailler pour se substanter et sa famille par différents moyens.

Appou Modely qui s'était porté caution pour le fermier de Villeparum, s'est modelé sur ces messieurs et s'est prévalu de leur façon d'agir en ne faisant aucun compte de me faire les remises dans les termes dont il était convenu, quoiqu'il vint m'assurer chaque fois que je lui envoyais demander de l'argent qu'il me payerait de jour à l'autre ; enfin rebuté de ses delays qui ont duré plus de trois mois, je l'ai poursuivi vivement ; il en porta inconsideramment ses plaintes à Mr. le Gouverneur, qui m'ayant fait appeler en sa présence ainsy que le fermier, me demanda combien m'etait deu dans

ce paragana ; je lui repondai qu'il m'était deu 78 mil roupies ; Appou Modely repliqua qua le fermier devait 38 mil roupies, et qu'à égard des 40 mil roupies il le payerait dans le jour ; làdessus Mr. le Gouverneur ordonna qu'il fut mis à la chaudrie ainsy que le fermier jusqu'à parfait payement ; Appou Modely y est resté 5 mois environ sans se mettre en devoir de me faire aucune remise, bien au contraire il a mieux aimé laisser périr une quantité de nesly sur terre que de la laisser couper ; il en aurait pu retirer 25 a 30 mil roupies s'il en eut donné l'ordre à ses écrivains, se prévalant de ses protections qui ont presenté plusieurs requêtes de sa part à Mr le Gouverneur, qui n'y a eu aucun égard parcequ'il l'avait assuré qu'il payerait 4 mois auparavant les 40 mil roupies qu'il était convenu me devoir ; Mr Moracin a obtenu son élargessement moyennant qu'il donna caution de sa personne et qu'il fit les diligences convenables pour se libérer de ce qu'il devait ; depuis qu'il est sorti de prison, il a oublié ses engagements et n'a nullement cherché les moyens de me satisfaire.

Quand les Maures jouissaient des domaines qui sont aujourdhui à la Compagnie, pour le moindre delai qu'un habitant apportait à payer ils employaient divers châtiments pour lui contraindre ; vous savez parfaitement bien, Monsieur, que cela s'est pratiqué sous vos yeux à Pondichery ; pour moy je n'ay pas agi ainsy, je n'ay employé que les voyes de douceur, et malgré que Mr le Gouverneur me pressait fortement de faire des remises, j'ay aimé mieux d'emprunter que de me servir des voyes de rigueur.

Enfin Mr le Gouverneur, que j'informais chaque jour du mauvaus procédé des Mrs les Cautions, voyant qu'ils ne faisaient aucun compte des reproches qu'il leur avait fait plusieurs fois, de leur retardement à payer, m'a permis de resilier leus baux ; alors je lui representay qu'ils me devaient des sommes considerables ; il m'ordonna de lui apporter les comptes d'un chacun que je lui ay remis et auxquels il n'a

pas apporté toute l'attention à laquelle je me serais attendu, puisqu'il m'a contraint de payer ces messieurs suivant les comptes qu'ils lui ont présentés, parcequ'ils lui ont représenté qu'ils avaient fait des avances aux fermiers qu'ils avaient cautionnés, ce qui est faux : ces prétendus avances qu'ils ont réclamées ne sont uniquement que divers sommes qu'ils ont exigé chacun des fermiers pour la peine de les avoir cautionnés pendant environ 6 mois; par les comptes qui vous ont été rendus dans les paraganas où vous avez été en tournée, il vous a été facile de vous convaincre de ce que j'ay l'honneur, Monsieur, de vous avancer ; permettes que je vous en fasse le détail.

Sommes que Mrs Very, Solminiach, Bury, Dulaurens, Le Blanc, et Gossard ont exigé des fermiers qu'ils ont cautionné, sçavoir,

	RS.
Mr Very	14,000
„ Solminiach	11,000
„ Bury	16,000
„ Dulaurens	3,000
„ Le Blanc	14,000
„ Gossard	15,000
Total ...	73,000

Voilà les prétendues sommes que ces messieurs ont dit à Mr le Gouverneur avoir avancé et qu'il m'a obligé de rembourser ; j'ose me flatter qu'il reconnaitra la façon dont ces messieurs ont surprise sa relligion (?) sur ce point, après avoir résilié les baux que je leur avais passé ; je pensais que les avaldars que j'avais commis pourraient sans être molestés regir les departements dont je leur avais confié l'administration ; à peine ont-ils entré en exercise que Messieurs les Commandants des places à l'instar de Messieurs les Cautions ont commencé par les molester à tous égards, tant par la

prison que par les châtiments, et ce pour exiger diverses sommes d'argent qu'ils se sont fait donner à force de menaces. Je suis en état d'en produire le compte parceque les avaldars ont passé à mon compte toutes ces sommes. Ces Messieurs en un mot se sont emparé de la régie et m'ont barré dans mes opérations, portant les choses au point que si l'avaldar envoyait chercher un habitant qui devait et le pressait de payer, le commandant de la place envoyait une patrouille le prendre et le faisait mettre au cachot d'où il ne pouvait sortir qu'en payant 200, 300, plus ou moins au commandant qui lui deffendait de poursuivre l'habitant, qui de son côté lui faisait aussi un présent pour avoir obtenu l'agrèment de n'être point poursuivi pour sa dette.

De plus les commandants des places se sont porté à une autre extrémité en faisant prendre, dans le tems que le ris se vend à raison de 4 mesures pour un fanon, tous les neslys des habitants qu'ils obligeaient de le vendre à raison de 6 mesures. Les commandants en ont acheté pour 20 et 30 mil roupies qu'ils ont vendu ensuite au prix qu'ils ont voulu. Encore s'ils étaient les seuls qui eussent profité de cette avantage la perte n'aurait pas été aussi considérable, mais c'est qu'ils ont fait battre le tam-tam dans toute l'étendue de leur département pour le vendre à ce prix, ce qui a occasionné une perte trés considérable.

Il est d'usage dans tous les pays du monde que le fermier a le pouvoir de régir, ainsi que les commis qu'il a établi dans chaque departement, que même les juridictions et les commandants des places sont obligés de le protéger et de lui donner main forte en toute occasion. Si j'avais eu le même avantage j'aurais eu la satisfaction de remplir avec aisance mes engagements, mais Mrs les Cautions ont commencé par me barrer et me géner dans l'exploitation ; Mrs les Commandants des places en suite. J'en ay fait mes représentations

Mr le Gouverneur qui leur a adressé des orders en conséquence et auxquels ils ne se sont pas conformés comme ils devaient.

Depuis que je suis adjudicaire certains esprits mal intentionnés par jalousie ont été chaque jour souffler dans l'oreille de plusieurs messieurs de cette colonie des faussetés qui les ont indisposé contre moy ; aujourdhui je suis bien charmé que les messieurs du Conseil ayent été visitter chaque paragana, parcequ'ils peuvent juger par les comptes qui leur ont été rendus, et vous particulièrement, Monsieur, que je n'en étais point imposé ; dans ceux ou vous avez été en tournée, vous avez pu par l'examen que vous en avez fait connaitre les sommes qui me sont dues et celles que les messieurs qui ont été cautions ont reçues ; quand j'ay pris à ferme les domaines de la Compagnie j'ay pensé que je pourrais y avoir quelque bénéfice, il s'en fait de beaucoup ; j'ay fait toutes ces représentations à Mr le Gouverneur ; pour peu que vous ayez agréable de lui rafraichir la mémoire en lui détaillant les faits que j'ay l'honneur de vous exposer dans le présent memoire et lui faire sentir en même tems le tort et les pertes que m'ont occassionné Mrs' les-Cautions ainsi que Mrs les Commandants des places, je suis persuadé qu'il y portera attention et reviendra des préjugés où on l'a mis en mon égard ; il verra, comme vous, Monsieur, que par la suite l'exploitation des fermes ne periclitera pas advantage, et qu'en me donnant la main, je ferai honneur aux engagements que j'ai contracté avec la Compagnie.

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